The GERMAN TERROR IN FRANCE

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BY

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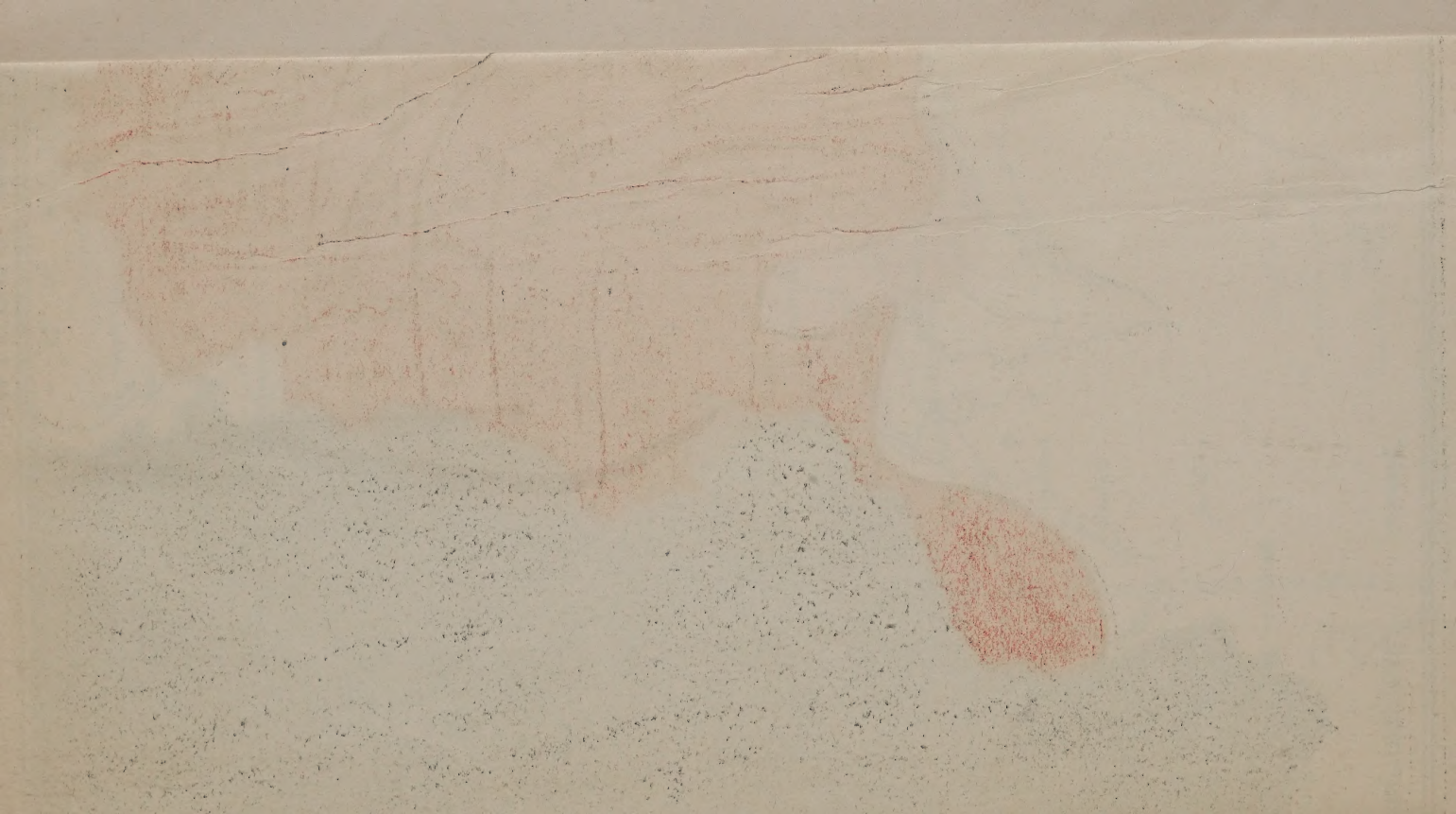

THE INVADED COUNTRY

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ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE

Late Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford

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PREFACE

"The German Terror in France" is a direct continuation of "The German Terror in Belgium" which was published several months ago. The chapters are numbered consecutively throughout the two volumes, and between them they cover all the ground overrun by the German Armies in their invasion on the West.

For the purpose of the book and the scheme on which it is written, the reader is referred to the preface of the earlier volume. But it may be mentioned that, while Chapter IV in the present volume is on the same scale as those which precede it, Chapters V, VI, and VII are considerably compressed. In these later chapters, as in the others, full references to the sources are given in the footnotes; but the sources themselves are not quoted so freely in the text, and I have in many cases been content to reprint summaries of the first-hand evidence already made by the French and Belgian Commissions, instead of re-analysing and re-summarising the original material myself.

ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE.

20th June, 1917.

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NOTE.—A reference is given to a map at the foot of every page in the text.

ABBREVIATIONS

ALPHABET, LETTERS OF THE :—

CAPITALS	..	Appendices to the German White Book entitled : " *The Violation of International Law in the Conduct of the Belgian People's War* " (dated Berlin, 10th May, 1915) ; Arabic numerals after the capital letter refer to the depositions contained in each Appendix.
LOWER CASE	..	Sections of the " *Appendix to the Report of the Committee on Alleged German Outrages, Appointed by His Britannic Majesty's Government and Presided Over by the Right Hon. Viscount Bryce, O.M.*" (Cd. 7895) ; Arabic numerals after the lower case letter refer to the depositions contained in each section.
ANN (EX)	.. ..	Annexes (numbered 1 to 9) to the *Reports of the Belgian Commission* (*vide infra*).
BELG.	.. ..	*Reports* (*numbered i to xxii*) *of the Official Commission of the Belgian Government on the Violation of the Rights of Nations and of the Laws and Customs of War.* (English translation, published, on behalf of the Belgian Legation, by H.M. Stationery Office, two volumes.)
BLAND	.. ..	" *Germany's Violations of the Laws of War*, 1914–5 " ; compiled under the Auspices of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and translated into English with an Introduction by J. O. P. Bland. (London : Heinemann. 1915.)
BRYCE	.. ..	*Appendix to the Report of the Committee on Alleged German Outrages appointed by His Britannic Majesty's Government.*

CARNETS	"*Carnets de Route de Combattants Allemands ;*" Traduction Integrale, Introduction et Notes par Jacques de Dampierre, Archiviste-paléographe. (Paris : Berger-Levrault. 1916.)
DAVIGNON	"*Belgium and Germany,*" Texts and Documents, preceded by a Foreword by Henri Davignon. (Thomas Nelson and Sons.)
FIVE	République Française : Documents Relatifs à la Guerre 1914–1915–1916 : *Rapports et Procès-Verbaux d'Enquête de la Commission Instituée en Vue de Constater les Actes Commis par l'Ennemi en Violation du Droit des Gens :* Décret du 23 Septembre, 1914. V. (Paris : Imprimerie Nationale. 1916.)
MERCIER	*Pastoral Letter,* dated Xmas, 1914, of His Eminence Cardinal Mercier, Archbishop of Malines.
MORGAN	"*German Atrocities : An Official Investigation,*" by J. H. Morgan, M.A., Professor of Constitutional Law in the University of London. (London : Fisher Unwin. 1916.)
NUMERALS, ROMAN LOWER CASE	*Reports (numbered i to xxii) of the Belgian Commission (vide supra).*
ONE	République Française : Documents Relatifs à la Guerre 1914–1915 : *Rapports et Procès-Verbaux d'Enquête de la Commission Instituée en Vue de Constater les Actes Commis par l'Ennemi en Violation du Droit des Gens :* Décret du 23 Septembre, 1914. I. (Paris : Imprimerie Nationale. 1915.)
R(EPLY)	"*Reply to the German White Book of May* 10, 1915." (Published, for the Belgian Ministry of Justice and Ministry of Foreign Affairs, by Berger-Levrault, Paris, 1916.)
'SCRAPS OF PAPER"	"*Scraps of Paper" :* German Proclamations in Belgium and France. (Hodder and Stoughton. 1916.)

Two	..	.. L'Allemagne et le Droit des Gens : Attentats contre les Personnes des Non-Combattants et contre les Propriétés Privées : *Deuxième Rapport Presenté à M. le Président du Conseil par la Commission Instituée en Vue de Constater les Actes Commis par l'Ennemi en Violation du Droit des Gens :* Décret du 23 Septembre, 1914. (Paris : Imprimerie des Journaux Officiels. 1915.)

N.B.—Statistics, where no reference is given, are taken from the Belgian Reply and the first and second Annexes to the Reports of the Belgian Commission. They are based on official investigations.

THE GERMAN TERROR IN FRANCE

IV. FROM LIÉGE TO THE MARNE.

(i) *From Liége to the Scheldt.*

The German advance from Liége towards Antwerp, in the latter part of August, 1914, was accompanied by terrible outrages upon the civil population. The massacres at Aerschot, the bombardment of Malines, the devastation of the villages between Malines and Louvain, and the sack of the city of Louvain itself, were all directly connected with this military movement, and have made it notorious above all other German operations in the European War. Yet from the strategical point of view it was a subsidiary movement —a diversion on the extreme right flank, to cover the main German armies in their sweep across Belgium into the heart of France. Moving at an almost incredible speed, these armies traversed a vast extent of territory before they were checked and thrown back at the Marne, and the outrages they committed in their passage probably amounted to a greater sum of crime and suffering

[Frontispiece]

than the horrors concentrated between the Belgian frontier and Liége, or between the Démer and the Senne.

The right wing of the invaders was formed by the armies of von Kluck and von Bülow. Screened by the covering force on their northern flank, these two armies poured through the gap between the Belgian fortresses of Antwerp and Namur—von Kluck on the right and von Bülow on the left (von Kluck's right flank columns wheeled through Brussels). Moving abreast in an immense curve, they crossed the Scheldt and the Sambre, the Somme and the Oise and the Marne, and were defeated on the lines of the Grand and the Petit Morin. At the end of their advance they were still abreast, but their fronts were facing south instead of west, and they were due east of Paris.

"At *Rosoux*,"[1] wrote one of von Kluck's soldiers in his diary on Aug. 17th, "wine by the cask. We live like God in France; the villa of a Belgian General supplies everything." The soldier had anticipated his objective, for Rosoux lay within the first stage of his march—from Liége to the Scheldt. He and his fellows committed many worse outrages than drunkenness and

[1] Bryce pp. 170–1.

[Frontispiece]

pillage before they passed out of Belgium again across the French frontier.

On the road from *Jodoigne*[2] to Wavre, on Aug. 18th, a detachment of Bavarian cyclists advanced upon the Belgian outposts with the curé of Jodoigne in front of them as a screen. The Belgian fire, more fortunate than on other occasions, struck down the leading Bavarians, and the curé escaped. The village of *Linsmeau* suffered more severely. Eighteen civilians were killed there, and the whole male population was carried off to work for the invaders. A Belgian soldier[3] saw three of the corpses at Linsmeau lying in the cowshed of a burnt farm. They were a man and two children—"one of them a boy of fourteen, the other a girl of ten." Seven houses were burnt at Linsmeau altogether. At *Melin* two houses were burnt and 200 plundered (out of 327); three of the inhabitants were killed. Beyond *Biez*,[4] again, at the bridge of Lives, the Germans used civilians as a screen—this time women and children, who were brought down by the Belgian fire. Thirty-seven houses were burnt altogether, and twenty-seven civilians killed, in the *Canton of Jodoigne*.

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[2] xv p. 21.
[3] k 19.
[4] vii p. 53 (f).

[Map 1]

At *Wavre* fifty-eight houses were burnt, and a Belgian despatch rider,[5] who traversed the town after the Germans had passed, saw the body of a girl lying on the pavement. It was naked, and had been ripped open. Yet on Aug. 27th, after these events, the Burgomaster of Wavre received the following communication from the German Lieutenant-General von Nieber[6]:—

"On Aug. 22nd, 1914, the General Commanding the Second Army, General von Bülow, imposed on the town of Wavre a war levy of 3,000,000 francs, payable before Sept. 1st, to expiate the heinous conduct, contrary to International Law and the customs of war, of which the inhabitants were guilty in making a surprise attack on the German troops. . . . The town of Wavre will be set on fire and destroyed if the payment is not made when due, without distinction of persons; the innocent will suffer with the guilty."

It was "contrary to International Law," as formulated in the Hague Convention of 1907 concerning the Laws and Customs of War on Land, to impose a collective penalty on Wavre for the acts of individual inhabitants, even if these acts were serious and beyond dispute. In the case

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[5] k 5.
[6] Davignon p. 91.

[Map 1]

of Wavre, however, no evidence whatever is offered in the German White Book in support of the sweeping accusations in the German proclamation of Sept. 1st, 1914.

Beyond the Dyle the German fury increased. "About midday," writes a German diarist on Aug. 19th,[7] "we reached a village which had been terribly ravaged—houses burnt, everything smashed to atoms, abandoned cattle wandering about the streets bellowing, and inhabitants lying shot. A company of the Infantry Regiment No. 75, which had bivouacked not far from the village the night before, had been fallen upon by the inhabitants and had made a shambles. Sixty-nine good soldiers were killed or wounded. As punishment, the village was wiped out.

"Aug. 20th.—We again passed through villages whose inhabitants had fired. The usual punishment had been inflicted."

The acts of the Germans are admitted by the Germans themselves; the alleged provocation on the Belgian side can be better judged by the conduct of von Bülow's troops in Ottignies and Mousty, where our evidence is more complete.

Keeping in touch with von Kluck's left, von Bülow's main forces passed across Southern Brabant, sweeping round the northern forts of

[7] Bryce p. 178.

[Map 1]

Namur. So long as they encountered no resistance from the Belgian Army they spared the civilians their lives, and chiefly plundered and burned. At *Autre-Eglise* they only killed three civilians, but plundered 150 houses out of 232. They plundered another 150 houses at *Ramillies*, and burned 22 (out of 176). At *Noville-sur-Mehaigne* they plundered 185 and burned 3 out of 197; at *Thorembais* 250 and 3 out of 269. In the *Canton of Perwez* they plundered 527 and burned 9 altogether. Then, on Aug. 19th, von Bülow's Uhlans were checked by Belgian outposts at *Ottignies*,[8] on the line of the Dyle, a few miles above Wavre. One Uhlan was wounded and two were killed.

Early next morning the Belgian troops retired, and the Germans poured into *Ottignies* and *Mousty*—a village half an hour's distance off. They fired frantically in the air; they fired at people who tried to run away; they began to plunder the houses and to set them on fire. The majority of the civilians were herded together in the square—we have the narrative of one of them who was carried away captive with 104 other men, and was only released at Gembloux on Aug. 27th. The story is completed by the diaries of the Germans themselves. "At Ottignies yesterday even-

[8] Anns. 5 and 6; Bland p. 138.

[Map 1]

ing," writes one of them on Aug. 20th, "an Oberleutnant and 4 Uhlans were shot—by the civil population, in the back (*sic*). To-day the terrible punishment ensues. The officer had also had his finger cut off, to have his wedding ring stolen. This was not the first instance of such atrocities" (or, in other words, of the deliberately propagated legend of the Belgian francs-tireurs). "The inhabitants," continues the diarist, "stood in the market-square under guard. Several men were condemned to death by the court-martial and shot immediately. The women went away in black—like a solemn procession. How many innocent victims fell by those shots just fired. The village was literally plundered—the Blonde Beast is revealing himself. The Huns and Landsknechts of the Middle Ages could not have beaten it. The houses are still burning, and where the fire was not enough, what is left is being levelled with the ground. . . ."

This German repeated the legend, but he was not easy in his mind. Another diarist, who passed through Ottignies on the same date, speaks in plainer terms: "March on Vays through Ottignies. Halt at Ottignies, requisition a pig. Uhlan patrol killed here with one officer. Place set on fire after we had passed through. Court-martial. People always decent if we behave civilly ourselves. In

our company there is a good tone—a contrast to others. Pioneers bad, artillery a gang of robbers."

At the Dyle von Bülow swung round and headed for the Sambre between Namur and Charleroi; von Kluck, with his right wheeling through Brussels and his left pivoting on Nivelles, swept westwards out of Brabant towards the line of the Scheldt.

At *Braine-le-Compte* and *Soignies*, in the *Province of Hainaut*, a number of houses were burnt.[9] At *Obourg*[10] the lunatic asylum, containing 200 women patients, was set on fire. At *Nimy*[11] the British were entrenched to resist the German advance, and the Germans ran amok. They plundered and massacred, and set the houses on fire. Eighty-four houses were destroyed at Nimy, and 17 of the inhabitants, including four women, were killed. The rest were driven forward, as a screen, as the Germans pressed on to *Mons*. For the British holding Mons at the top of the Avenue de Berlaimont, this pitiful crowd of civilians was the first indication that the Germans were within range.[12] "We waited for the advance of the Germans," states a British officer; "some civilians reported to us that they were coming down a road

[9] l 12.
[10] xxii p. 135.
[11] xxii pp. 135–6.
[12] g 5, 6, 8; xv p. 21.

[Map 2]

in front of us. On looking in that direction we saw, instead of German troops, a crowd of civilians—men, women and children—waving white handkerchiefs and being pushed down the road in front of a large number of German troops."—"They came on as it were in a mass," states a British soldier, "with the women and children massed in front of them. They seemed to be pushing them on, and I saw them shoot down women and children who refused to march. Up to this my orders had been not to fire, but when we saw women and children shot, my sergeant said: 'It is too heartrending,' and gave orders to fire, which we did."—"I saw the Germans advancing on hands and knees towards our position," states another; "they were in close formation, and had a line of women and children in front of their front rank. Our orders at that time were not to fire on civilians in front of the enemy."

A Belgian standing in a side-street [13] saw the German tactics close at hand. He saw six of the victims shot by the Germans for trying to get away. The Burgomaster of Mons himself had been seized in the streets, and was driven forward with the others.[14] The Germans renewed these tactics on the other side of Mons on Aug. 24th,

[13] g 9.
[14] xxii p. 136.

[Map 2]

when the British were in retreat.[15] "They had collected a number of women and children from the houses in the town. . . . I could see that the Germans had their bayonets fixed and pointed to the backs of the women and children, to make them advance."—"It was about 11 a.m. . . . They were being pushed along by the Germans. One old man was very old and bent. I noticed two women in particular who had two, or possibly three, children, and they were holding them close in as if to shield them. One of the women had a blue apron on. Altogether, I suppose there were 16 to 20 women there, about a dozen children, and half-a-dozen men. I was in the last file, and I kept on looking round as we were retiring. . . ."

This same screen was driven right on against the British positions in *Frameries;* we have the evidence, again, of British soldiers, who were waiting for the Germans there.[16] "When they were motioned to draw to the side by one of our own men," states a soldier, "they were fired on by the Germans from behind for doing so. I should think 50 people were shot down. In some cases the children had been walking, in others they were carried by the women."

A German diarist[17] gives his own version of

[15] g 3, 4, 7, 10, 11.
[16] g 12–13.
[17] Bryce p. 162.

[Map 2]

these events: "In fine spirits we marched next morning through the village of *Paturages*, that is to say, on Aug. 24th, before we had cleared the suburbs of the town of Mons and set the houses on fire—we marched through the aforementioned village. Inhabitants came in crowds out of the houses into the open. Here heartrending scenes occurred; it was really terrible to watch."

This was how the Germans made their way through Mons. "Sept. 16th, behind Mons," writes another German soldier[18] who passed this way when the work was done. "Here again countless houses have been destroyed, and the population looks bitter and gloomy."

At *Jemappes*,[19] west of Mons, a hundred houses were burnt and about 70 people were killed. A hundred and fifty houses were burnt at *Quaregnon*.[20] "Jemappes," deposes a German prisoner[21]; "Pillage! As for the inhabitants, not a soul left. One of my comrades takes a watch. Finally, on Aug. 25th, the French frontier is crossed, and from that point onwards the atrocities have been less."

Meanwhile, von Kluck's right wing, outflanking the British left, bore down from Brussels upon

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[18] Bryce p. 180.
[19] R p. 127; xxii p. 136.
[20] xxii p. 186.
[21] R p. 127.

[Map 2]

Tournai on Aug. 24th, with the Death's Head Hussars in the van. At *Rumillies*,[22] where they encountered French dragoons, they dragged the inhabitants out of their houses, and with this screen[23] in front of them they made their way into Tournai itself. "I was taken to Tournai," states a Belgian civilian from Antoing[24]; "there were about 400 civilian Belgian prisoners there—men, women and children. A fight took place there between French and Germans. All the prisoners, including myself, were marched in front of the German forces. Two of these who did not move quickly enough were shot by the Germans." As the French fell back through the city, the Germans recruited their screen from the suburbs of *Château* and *La Tombe*.[25] In the suburb of *Morelle*, where the French troops made a stand, the Germans seized and shot a number of civilians in reprisals, burned a dozen houses, and pillaged more. They shot a middle-aged civilian who was helping a wounded French soldier in the street; they shot a lame boy thirteen years old; they shot a girl whom they had first raped in public.[26] The Burgomaster of Tournai, with the city councillors and sheriffs, was brought under

[22] xv pp. 21–2.
[23] x p. 70.
[24] g 23.
[25] xxii p. 134.
[26] k 34.

[Map 2]

arrest to the Hôtel-de-Ville, to hear a proclamation condemning the city to furnish 200 hostages and pay 2,000,000 francs in gold. The money must be forthcoming within three hours; otherwise the city would be destroyed and the population exterminated. At the appointed time 1,700,000 francs were delivered, and the balance was covered by a promissory note, which the municipal councillors signed. But the councillors and the Bishop (an old man of seventy-four) were still detained; they were carried off that night to Ath, and on Aug. 25th 400 more of the inhabitants were forced to accompany the German advance, and were not released till they had been 36 hours on the march.

(ii) *From the Scheldt to the Oise.*

At Tournai the Germans crossed the Scheldt, and pushed forward into France.

"Aug. 25th," writes a German diarist,[27] "marched to *Orchies*. Houses searched. All civilians taken prisoners. A woman was shot because she did not halt at the word of command, but tried to run away. Thereupon the whole place was set on fire. At 7 o'clock we left Orchies in flames and marched towards *Valenciennes*.

"Aug. 26th. Marched off at 9 a.m. towards

[27] Bland p. 123.

the eastern entrance of Valenciennes to occupy the town and keep back fugitives. All the male inhabitants from 18 to 48 were arrested and sent to Germany."

Between St. Amand and Valenciennes a Belgian civilian, whom the Germans had dragged with them from the other side of Brussels,[28] saw a château pillaged and set on fire. "After setting fire to the château, the soldiers placed the baron" (who owned it) "with twenty other civilians who lived near by, consisting of young and old men, and also some women and even children, and shot them all. . . . The soldiers smashed the windows of every house on the way. . . . I saw three workmen's cottages near the château and five or six other houses further along the road to Valenciennes burnt by the Germans. They first shot at the houses and the occupants fled, and then the Germans fired the houses. I do not know what happened to the occupants. . . ."

The invaders spread over the region between the Scheldt and the Somme. At *Beaumont-Hamel*,[29] in the *Department of the Somme*, a village of 380 souls, they imposed a war contribution of 8,000 francs on the commune, threatening to carry the men away captive if the money were

[28] I 12.
[29] Five 131–4.

[Map 2]

not paid. The mayor raised 1,800 francs, and the Germans obtained the rest by robbing private individuals. A week after their arrival they accused four women of espionage on frivolous grounds. An officer of the German Infantry Regiment No. 110, who examined them, offered three of them their lives if they would denounce the fourth. They refused, and were given three minutes to change their minds. "Then," states the fourth victim, "we were dragged to the church wall, the officer superintending in person. He had his watch in his hand. We were given one minute to confess or die. We did not give in. He counted, 'One . . . two . . . ,' but the fatal 'three' did not issue from his lips"—they were led back again, and given half-an-hour's grace more. They entrusted what money they had on their persons to another woman, but the officer interrupted the transaction, counted the money out, and appropriated it for the benefit of the war contribution. He told the fourth woman that she should be "buried alive in front of the church," but finally the Colonel of the 110th Regiment commuted their penalty to imprisonment. A hundred and seventy inhabitants of Beaumont-Hamel altogether were taken as prisoners to Cambrai. After five months' detention the elders were sent home, but they were brutally separated

[Map 2]

from the children, who were not allowed to return.

The Germans entered *Lahoussoye*[30] on Aug. 30th, pillaged the shops and houses, rifled the linen from the drawers, and slaughtered the cattle. They raped a woman of eighty, and murdered a man of sixty-five. He was found in his cellar, with a bullet in his heart, on the following day.

Pont-Noyelle,[31] too, was plundered on Aug. 30th. A paralysed man, who could not open his gate quickly enough for the Germans' satisfaction, was ridden down by an officer on a horse. The Germans stole seven or eight hundred bottles of his wine, and compelled him to witness their debauch, forcing a pickelhaube on to his head, and treating him with every kind of indignity. They stole his provisions, plate and horses, and jewels to the value of more than 1,500 francs. At *Querrieu*[32] a refugee returning to look after his cattle was killed by a sabre-stroke in the stomach. All but four of the houses in Querrieu were plundered, and two were burnt.

At *Méricourt-sur-Somme*[33] three German soldiers dragged a girl of seventeen into a cellar, violated her in succession, and seized all the

[30] Five 105–7.
[31] Five 101–4.
[32] Five 108–111.
[33] Five 90–4.

[Map 2]

I.—SENLIS: RUINED STREET.

3.—SENLIS: RUINS.

jewellery and money on her person. Another woman, enticed out of her house at night by a soldier with the story that her husband was ill, was saved from violation by neighbours who went with her.

At *Proyart*,[34] on Aug. 29th, an Uhlan patrol fired down into a cellar where the inhabitants of a house had just taken refuge, and killed an old man of seventy-four. They broke everything in this house, and sacked the whole village. "Six or seven deaconesses in black clothes, with white coifs and Red Cross armlets, went into the houses with the soldiers and took anything that pleased them."—"On Sept. 1st," states another witness, "I saw the Germans load M. Wable's furniture on motor-cars and then set fire to the house—throwing in something that exploded."—"I saw quite distinctly," states a French soldier who was lying wounded in the street, "how they went from house to house, setting them on fire. I saw them set a dozen houses on fire in this way, notably a big farm."

On Aug. 29th the Germans also burned seven houses and two barns at *Framerville*.[35] Their methods show that the incendiaries of Framerville and Proyart were the same. "One heard an ex-

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[34] Five 96–8.
[35] Five 99–100.

[Map 2]

plosion," states the curé of Framerville, "and then the house took fire immediately. Each time a building was burning they played a pianola which they had taken from M. François Foucard's house." At Proyart, while M. Wable's house was in flames, they had danced to the sound of a gramophone.

At *Maucourt*,[36] on Aug. 29th, a German cyclist patrol found four agricultural labourers sitting in a café. He levelled his rifle at them, and two of them tried to escape. The German fired twice at the first, who dragged himself a hundred yards and then died. The second took refuge in a barn. More Germans then came up and demanded matches to burn the barn over his head, but finding none they put five bullets into his brain. Next day they wounded a French dragoon from an ambush in the village, and finished him off with the butt-ends of their rifles in order to plunder his pockets. On Sept. 25th they returned in force to Maucourt, and when the French artillery opened on them they seized five men of the village as a screen to cover their retreat. "I was arrested," states one of these victims, "by a German sergeant with a serrated bayonet. . . . They immediately placed us in front of them, telling us that the French were going to kill us.

[36] Five 114–121.

[Map 2]

. . . We could not escape, for we had a soldier with fixed bayonet on either side of us."—"Four times," states the village schoolmaster, "we were knocked over by the shock of the (French) shells." Returning next day, the Germans imposed a war contribution on the commune. "How many inhabitants have you?" asked the German commandant. "Three hundred and fifty," he was told. "I must have 10 francs per inhabitant," he answered. "If you have not produced the sum in gold or silver within an hour, everyone will be searched; anyone found with money on him will be shot, the village will be burnt, and we shall carry off hostages." Fifteen hundred francs in gold were paid by the village baker, the rest by other individuals. "No receipt was given," states a witness. "Our commune was completely pillaged. I found my own house sacked, the cloth torn off the billiard-table, and everything in a state of indescribable confusion." On the same day, Sept. 26th, the French troops returned, and Maucourt was delivered.

At *Liancourt-Fosse*[37] the Germans, fighting with a French regiment for the possession of the village, seized twelve of the inhabitants as a screen, and drove them forward in three ranks. The French slackened their fire, but three of the

[37] Five 126–7.

civilians were seriously wounded, and another mortally.

In the Commune of *Welles-Pérennes*,[38] in the *Department of the Oise*, the Germans surprised two farm lads, eighteen and nineteen years old, driving in a cart to Montigny to buy bread. One of them, wounded in the stomach, dragged himself back to the farm and died. The other was taken to *Crève-Cœur*[39] and shot while trying to escape. This was on Aug. 31st, and the Germans had entered Crève-Cœur that day. "Many of them were drunk. They broke open the doors of a number of houses of which the owners were away, and gave themselves up to pillage. . . . Soldiers dragged a young man[40] up to two officers on horseback, and one of them shot him point-blank." At *Ferrierès*[41] six houses were set on fire by means of bombs, and a man and his wife suffocated in their cellar, because a French soldier had fired in the street and taken refuge in a house. At *Ravenel*,[42] on Sept. 1st, the Germans loaded a wagon with their plunder; on Sept. 13th they shot down a civilian who was bicycling along the road. At *Nourard-le-Franc*,[43] on Sept. 3rd, three

[38] Five 72.
[39] Five 73–4.
[40] Not identical with the farm boy from *Welles-Pérennes*.
[41] Five 75.
[42] One 374–5.
[43] One 414–5 ; Five 88–9.

[Map 3]

Germans with Red Cross armlets burned six houses and a barn, and fired indiscriminately in the streets. They wounded one man—his wife died of shock. "After this," states a witness, "they left in the direction of *Mesnil-sur-Bulles*," and here,[44] on Sept. 4th, three Germans (evidently the same) shot a professor on the doorstep of a house. Uhlans had been looting in Mesnil two days before.

Mortemer,[45] on the road from Roye to Compiègne, was pillaged by the Germans on Aug. 31st. Next day they demanded tobacco from the grocer, M. Huille. Having none, he guided them to the tobacconist's, and was shot point-blank as he turned to go home. At *Marquéglise*[46] the Germans carried off eight civilians as hostages, including the curé and the mayor, and shot four other hostages—two Frenchmen from St. Quentin and two Belgians from Jemappes—when they retreated through Marquéglise on Sept. 16th. At *Monchy-Humières*,[47] on Aug. 31st, a German officer ordered three Uhlans to fire on a crowd of about forty people, because he thought he heard the word "Prussian" muttered among them. A man and a little girl were wounded, and a boy of fifteen was killed.

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[44] One 412–3.
[45] Five 76–9.
[46] One 430–1.
[47] One 372–3.

[Map 3]

Choisy-au-Bac,[48] in the angle between the Oise and the Aisne, was entered by the Germans on Aug. 31st. "On Sept. 1st and 2nd," states the town clerk, "they deliberately burned a quarter of the houses in Choisy, on the absolutely false pretext that they had been fired on. Before setting the houses on fire they pillaged the whole place under their officers' eyes. Two military doctors with Red Cross armlets pillaged Madame Binder's house with their own hands. The booty was carried off in carts stolen on the spot. Forty-five houses were destroyed." On Sept. 8th the Germans shot in his garden an inhabitant of Choisy who had just returned from Compiègne. They carried off four others on their retreat—one escaped, one is known to have been shot, and the others were not heard of again.

(iii) *Across the Oise.*

Between the junction of the Aisne and a point due north of Paris, von Kluck's Army made their passage of the Oise, and *Compiègne* [49] was the first place they reached on the further bank of the river. From the famous Palace of Compiègne only a few objects were taken, but Count Orsetti's château, facing it, was completely sacked—"especially by

[48] One 416–8.
[49] One 419–423.

non-commissioned officers, in the sight and with the cognisance of their superiors. Plate, jewels, and other objects of value were carried off, and the pillagers indulged in a regular orgy. Part of the plunder was brought into the courtyard of the château, checked, entered, packed, and loaded on two furniture vans flying Red Cross flags." This is the testimony of the Director of the Museum at Compiègne, and he adds that a German captain, appealed to to interfere, replied: "It is war, and besides—I have no time."

Meanwhile, von Kluck's right wing, heading for Paris, arrived on Sept. 2nd at *Nogent-sur-Oise*.[50] "The Germans," states a witness, "forced their way into my house, broke the doors and windows, smashed the furniture, and carried me off, mishandling me on the way. They dragged me as far as Creil, and both at Nogent and at Creil I saw them entering houses to pillage them. As they came out the houses took fire. About eight houses," he states, "were burnt at Nogent"; and another inhabitant describes how, after they had broken open his shutters and taken everything from his house that they wanted, they attempted to burn it by drenching a bundle of clothes in petrol and setting them alight.

From Nogent the Germans passed straight on

[50] One 405–6.

[Map 3]

to *Creil*.[51] "They came to Creil on Sept. 2nd," states the Mayor's Assessor, M. Georges, "and their occupation lasted till Sept. 9th. There was wholesale pillage, and 43 houses were burnt by the enemy by means of fuses and grenades. To palliate these excesses, they alleged that they had been fired on by civilians, but I certify that this excuse is absolutely false. None of my fellow-citizens committed the slightest act of hostility. If shots were fired, they were fired at the moment of the Germans' entry by the French military engineers who were blowing up the bridge." This testimony is confirmed by the Germans themselves. "Creil," writes a diarist; "the iron bridge had been blown up. For this whole streets were burnt and civilians shot."—"I saw an Uhlan kill M. Parent," states a restaurant keeper at Creil, "as he was returning quietly from lunch. The Uhlan fired at a distance of seven or eight paces, and his victim was hit full in the chest and fell stiff. Four or five Uhlans threw themselves on his body and rifled it." Another inhabitant, M. Alexandre, was found lying in the street with his skull smashed in. A third, M. Brêche, a barkeeper, was carried off and shot because he could not serve the Germans fast enough. "A man killed?" remarked an officer; "we think nothing

[51] One 398–404; Bland p. 121.

[Map 3]

of it, one sees so many. Besides, we are fired at everywhere, so we kill and burn." He added that Brêche was a blockhead.

The Germans intended the pillage of Creil to be systematic. A group of civilian prisoners were interrogated in turn as to who were the richest men in their respective quarters of the town. About 100 civilians were seized in Creil altogether and were compelled to dig trenches for the Germans and to cut down a crop of maize to improve their field of fire. The Germans kept them working a week, during which time they gave them nothing to eat, but the women of Creil managed to bring them food.

At *Néry*,[52] on Sept. 1st, the Germans seized the manager of a sugar factory and his staff—twenty-six persons, including women and children—and used them as a screen to protect their flank against the British artillery fire. A foreman was wounded; a woman was hit in the stomach and died within forty-eight hours. The Germans plundered the whole village of Néry, breaking in the doors, and burned one house down. They plundered *Trumilly* [53] on Sept. 3rd. A lady complained to a colonel of a non-commissioned officer who had stolen jewels from her worth 10,000

[52] One 376–8.
[53] One 424–9.

[Map 3]

francs, but the colonel replied with a smile: "I am sorry, Madame, but it is war." The same non-commissioned officer forced another woman to lie with him by threatening her with his rifle—her husband was with the colours. *Crépy-en-Valois* [54] was entered on Sept. 2nd, and for four days the Germans poured through. The place was thoroughly pillaged—linen and jewellery were, as usual, most eagerly sought after, and all the safes were broken open. The Germans reached *Villers-Saint-Frambourg*,[55] too, on Sept. 2nd, at 9 o'clock at night. "They seized horses, slaughtered cattle, stole bicycles, and emptied nearly all the cellars." They also murdered here a civilian brought from Senlis [56]—tieing him to a post with his hands behind his back and bayoneting him to death. "He was not killed by bullets, for his stomach had been gashed open, and the wall behind him showed no trace of bullet-marks." That night at Villers-Saint-Frambourg a soldier violated a woman, who took refuge with neighbours when the man had gone away. "I was well advised to do so," she remarks, "for numbers of soldiers came to my house, directed, no doubt, by the first. They broke the windows out of spite at

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[54] One 407.
[55] One 396–7.
[56] Cp. One 387.

not finding me there, and stole my pig, poultry, and rabbits, as well as my pots and pans."

On Sept. 2nd *Senlis*[57] was sacked. "About half-past three in the afternoon," states the town clerk of Senlis, "I was informed that the Germans were at the Hôtel-de-Ville, and that the Mayor, M. Odent, was asking for me. . . . The Mayor was surrounded by a group of officers, and one of them, doubtless the highest in rank, said to him: 'Our men have been fired on.' When M. Odent protested, he repeated: 'Our men have been fired on.' I then proposed to M. Odent that I should go and find his Assessors, but he did not wish it, and said that 'one victim was enough.'" After this, the Mayor was led off by the German officer to the Hotel du Grand Cerf, to expedite the serving of dinner for forty persons which the officer had ordered; the officer also ordered the Mayor to see that the town was lighted up that night. "About ten minutes later," continues the town clerk, who had been requested by the Mayor to see to this order, "a fusillade—the first firing there had been—broke out between the German troops in the Rue de la République and French soldiers who, as I afterwards learnt, were posted in the neighbourhood of the hospital."

The Germans immediately seized a number of

[57] One 379–395.

[Map 3]

civilians and drove them down the Rue de la République as a screen.[58] "I was acting as interpreter between M. Dupuis and the Germans," states one woman, "not far from my house. The Germans dragged me off. My little daughter Claire, five years old, saw me in the middle of them and came running up. I asked permission to take her back to the house; the Germans refused. 'If we are not fired on,' they said, 'you shall be released.' Then they made us walk down the middle of the road, while they themselves kept to the side. At a certain moment a shot came from a window—I saw a black face. The house was instantly riddled with bullets. Opposite the hospital, while we were still walking in the middle of the (German) troops, the Moroccans opened a fusillade. The Germans replied, and my child was wounded by a bullet in the thigh—the wound is not healed yet."[59]—"I was taken along to the neighbourhood of the hospital," states another inhabitant, "with various other civilians, and when the black troops fired on the Germans, the latter exposed us to the bullets and compelled us to walk in the middle of the road."

Meanwhile, the Germans were setting the town on fire. "The enemy," states M. de Parseval, one

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[58] One 381, 385–6, 391.
[59] Nov. 20th, 1914.

[Map 3]

of the Mayor's Assessors, "were furious at meeting with resistance, and, pretending that it was civilians who had fired on them, deliberately started conflagrations in two districts of the town. A hundred and five houses were burnt on Sept. 2nd and the following day." [60]—"On Sept. 2nd and 3rd," states a gardener,[61] "I was constantly about in the streets, keeping an eye on the premises under my charge. I saw the Germans in the act of setting fire to several houses. They came up in column, and, at a whistle from an officer, certain of them stepped out from the ranks to break in the doors and house-fronts with axes. Others then came and set the house on fire. After that, patrols came round to see if the fire had caught properly, and shot into any houses where the flames were not spreading quickly enough. They all shouted like savages while they were at work. To start the fire, the incendiaries used tubes, fuses, and grenades."

Incendiarism was accompanied by murder. "We were exposed to the French bullets," states one of a group of four men who were driven in the civilian screen.[62] "I immediately saw Leymarie fall mortally wounded, and as I was propping him against a wall I was struck myself by a

[60] One 379.
[61] One 380; cp. 386, 390.
[62] One 384.

[Map 3]

bullet above the knee. Levasseur was killed next. At this moment a (German) officer appeared, made me get up, ordered me to show him my wound, and proceeded to fire a bullet point blank into my shoulder. My fourth companion was also wounded by a German." Four other men went to look at a granary which the Germans had set on fire. They were shot at by a patrol of Uhlans, and took refuge in a stable, but when they ventured out again they were received with another volley. One was killed outright; a second had three fingers carried away and was wounded in the groin—he died in hospital after a week.[63] A bar-keeper, whose premises the Germans were looting, was dragged out and shot dead on his threshold for raising his hand.[64] A householder, whose door had been broken in and who was bringing the Germans wine on their demand, was found by his wife, a few minutes afterwards, lying dead on the stairs, with a bullet wound through his chest.[65] A feeble-minded person lying in bed in the hospital was shot dead by a German officer who forced his way thither in a state of frenzy.[66] Ten civilians altogether were murdered here and there in Senlis on Sept. 2nd by individual German soldiers and

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[63] One 389–390.
[64] One 386.
[65] One 388.
[66] One 395.

[Map 3]

officers. The German Higher Command completed the work by the massacre of the Mayor and six other citizens in the Commune of Chamant, outside the town.

"We were led next to the hamlet of Poteau," states an inhabitant of Senlis who had survived the ordeal in the Rue de la République.[67] "Here we found the Mayor, M. Odent, who was a prisoner, and were taken along with him to Chamant. The Mayor was brutally maltreated by German soldiers on the way. They snatched his gloves from him and threw them in his face; they struck him violently over the head with his cane. At Chamant two officers took command of our guards. Then a third arrived, and walked up to M. Odent. Twice over he charged him with having fired, or incited others to fire, on the German troops, and then informed him, in spite of his protestations of innocence, that he was going to be shot. The Mayor then asked permission to bid us farewell. It was granted him, and he came and shook our hands, saying: 'I am going to be shot. Good-bye.' He was immediately led away to a distance of about a dozen yards, and two soldiers were ordered to fire on him. He fell without a cry, and was buried immediately."—"He advanced very bravely to the spot," adds

[67] One 381.

[Map 3]

another witness[68]; "it was eleven o'clock at night."

The six other victims had already been massacred. "On Sept. 12th," states the municipal clerk of the works,[69] "I went to Chamant to see to the disinterment of M. Odent's body. I also had the bodies of six other persons who had been shot by the Germans disinterred. . . . All were perfectly well recognised and identified by members of their families. Some of them had wounds in the chest, others in the head."

(iv) *The Crossing of the Marne.*

The treatment of Senlis on Sept. 2nd was the measure of what Paris had to expect within the next few days. At *Gouvieux*,[70] east of Senlis in the direction of the Oise, Uhlan advance-guards fired on a woman driving with her son and daughter in a trap—the son and daughter died of their wounds; the mother, though seriously wounded, survived—and in the same commune a young man was murdered as he was bicycling along a road. Paris was barely twenty miles off, but at this point von Kluck suddenly changed direction, and, swerving aside from Paris, headed south-eastward for the Marne.

[68] One 382.
[69] One 394.
[70] Five 84–7.

[Map 3]

5.—COURTACON.

6.—CHÂTILLON-SUR-MORIN.

7.—REIMS CATHEDRAL.

At *Baron*[71] a civilian, M. Albéric Magnard, fired on the Germans who had surrounded his villa, killing one soldier and wounding another—the first authenticated case of firing by a civilian in the whole course of von Kluck's advance from Liége. The villa was set on fire, and M. Magnard shot himself in the flames. In further reprisals the commune was plundered—"under the direction of officers," states the notary, "or, at any rate, with their consent. One officer forced me to open my safe," he continues, "and took possession, in my presence, of a sum of 8,300 francs which the safe contained. I refused at first to obey, but he ordered two men to load their rifles. . . . I saw another officer wearing nine women's rings on his fingers, and three bracelets on either arm. . . . The soldiers who burned M. Magnard's house bore the word 'Gibraltar' on their sleeves. The officer with the rings on his fingers and the bracelets on his arms belonged to the same corps."

At *Douy-la-Ramée*,[72] in the *Department of Seine-et-Marne*, the Germans burned down the mill and tried to throw a mill-hand into the flames No provocation was given them at Douy, and they had been inquiring after the exact situation of the

[71] One 408–411.
[72] One 8–9.

[Map 3]

mill at the villages on their way. Their plans were going amiss; they were nearing the turning-point of their progress, and, like the other German armies abreast of them, they vented their rage on everything they encountered on their path. At *Barcy*[73] they burned down the archive room at the Mairie, shelled the hospital, and killed eighteen wounded French soldiers lying there. At *Penchard*[74] they burned three houses; at *Neufmontiers*[75] three ricks and a farm. At *Chauconin*[76] they carried off two vanloads of booty, and burned five houses and six barns. Chauconin looks down from its hill upon Meaux and the valley of the Marne, but the Germans did not descend on Meaux or cross the river here. They had to face the threat to their flank from Paris, and, leaving a rearguard to meet it, they swerved, again, still further to the east.

They reached the Marne at *Vareddes*,[77] pillaged the place, and carried off seventeen hostages, including the curé. Three at least of these hostages were killed—one of them a man seventy-three years old. "He was taken to Coulombs," states his brother-in-law[78]; "by Wednesday he could

[73] One 7.
[74] One 5–6.
[75] One 8.
[76] One 1–2.
[77] One 17–19; cp. 4.
[78] One 4.

[Map 3]

no longer walk; next day he was given a bayonet stroke in the forehead and a revolver shot in the heart. I myself brought his body back from Coulombs and buried it at Congis." At *Congis* the Germans arrested a man sixty-six years old near a spot called Gué-à-Tresmes, tied him to a cattle-tether, and shot him—out of spite, because they found no money in his purse. (Two civilians from Vareddes were compelled to remove corpses at Gué-à-Tresmes, and clean up the château there.[79]) After this murder the Germans prepared to set Congis on fire. "They stuffed twenty houses with straw and drenched them with petrol, but the arrival of the French troops fortunately prevented them from carrying out their purpose."

At *Lizy-sur-Ourcq*[80] they pillaged systematically from Sept. 3rd to Sept. 9th—the period of their occupation. The contents of chemists' shops, ironmongers' shops, bicycle shops were loaded on motor-lorries and horse-waggons and hand-carts. "The most eager pillagers were men wearing the Red Cross badge."—"If one attempted to stop and watch them at work, they came and thrust their revolvers at one's chest." The Inspector of Gendarmerie at Lizy states that all the communes in his district were plundered in this thorough-

[79] One 19.
[80] One 10–12.

[Map 3]

going fashion, and the booty carried off in vehicles commandeered from the inhabitants. *Mary-sur-Marne*,[81] too, was plundered, and a customer was killed here at a bar by a German cavalry patrol. At Mary the Germans carried off their plunder in their own army carts. At *May-en-Multien*[82] they carried it off in motor-lorries. Here, too, there was wanton firing on civilians—none were killed outright, but a woman lost her arm and died in hospital at Meaux.[83]

This was west of the Ourcq, but several of von Kluck's corps came down to the east of that river, moving from Compiègne through Villers-Cotterets. Near *Vivières*,[84] in the *Department of the Aisne*, on Sept. 2nd, they shot an agricultural labourer seventy-seven years old. "My men were a little too quick," the German non-commissioned officer remarked—the old man had not heard, at 300 yards, the officer's order to halt. At *Dampleux*,[85] on the edge of the forest, they shot a civilian from Villers-Cotterets. At *Noroy-sur-Ourcq*[86] they murdered a garde-champêtre, sixty-nine years old, in his cottage. He was found with his skull beaten in, lying in a pool of blood. At *Chouy*[87] they

[81] One 20–1.
[82] One 13–15.
[83] One 16.
[84] Five 61.
[85] Five 63–4.
[86] Five 69–71.
[87] Five 67–8; cp. 62.

[Map 3]

carried off the blacksmith, and his wife had no news of him till she heard, a month later, that he had died in hospital at Soissons. He was seen on Sept. 9th at Neuilly-Saint-Front. "I saw him pass," states a witness, "tied to the tail of a horse, going through the town in the direction of Château-Thierry. An hour later I saw him come back in the same plight. By then his face was covered with blood, and appeared to have been slashed with a sabre. I heard of his death at Soissons later." *Neuilly-Saint-Front*[88] was pillaged by the Germans. They requisitioned an inhabitant to remove their plunder with his own horses and cart, and then sent him to an internment camp in Germany. At *Breuil*,[88] near Neuilly, they wounded two women on their way into town to buy bread—one of them was injured seriously.

Crossing the Ourcq, they pillaged *Brumetz*[89] on Sept. 3rd; on the 4th they burned a tobacconist's shop there, on the 7th a château. Crossing the Marne, above its junction with the Ourcq, they came, on Sept. 4th, to *Jouarre*,[90] in the *Department of Seine-et-Marne*, and plundered it in the usual way. "The loot was loaded on motor-cars marked with the Red Cross. The troops followed one another in an endless stream, and the pillage

[88] Five 62.
[89] One 435–6.
[90] Five 58.

[Map 3]

began again as each new corps arrived—as far as there was anything left to take. The total losses notified exceed 600,000 francs."

Sablonnières,[91] on the Petit Morin, was entered by the Germans on Sept. 4th. Their cavalry caught a civilian on a bicycle, and made him ride behind them when they were fired at by French chasseurs and were beating a retreat. An officer fired his revolver at him; a trooper knocked him off his bicycle with his lance; finally, they stripped him to the waist, and in four encounters with the French compelled him to stand erect while they themselves took cover from the bullets. "On Sept. 4th," states a peasant of Sablonnières, "I was minding my cows in a field near the village, when a German infantryman, who was lagging a little behind his column, knelt down and covered me with his rifle from about 150 yards off. I said to myself: 'He is not really going to fire at me,' but the thought was hardly in my mind when the rifle cracked and I received a bullet in the left cheek. You can see the scar."—"My commune was thoroughly pillaged," states the Mayor of Sablonnières. "A cane-trunk factory was particularly badly looted. The stolen trunks were used for carrying off the rest of the plunder. A bicycle shop was also sacked, as well as a general

[91] One 44–8.

[Map 3]

shop and some private houses." On Sept. 8th, when the Germans were being driven out, one of them wounded a civilian who had taken refuge under a bridge. The man was carried to a British military ambulance, and died.

At *Rebais*,[92] on Sept. 4th, the Germans, as they entered, shot down several British troopers who were retiring before their advance. The Englishmen lay in the street, and one of them, pinned down by his dead horse, lifted his arm in token of distress. A German officer came up and shot him through the head. A second Englishman had got to his feet and raised both arms in surrender, but a German private felled him with his rifle-butt and finished him off with repeated blows. "Three times," states a witness, "I heard him cry for mercy." After this, the Germans gave themselves up to pillage. They pillaged a jeweller's shop in the usual way, loading its contents on a waggon at the door. "Then they bored holes in the walls and the floor, and, an instant later, the neighbours saw that the shop was on fire. They noticed the soldiers throwing in grenades to make the fire catch quicker."—"I saw one soldier," states another witness, "set fire to three houses in succession. He broke the window-panes and threw in blazing straw." The pillage and arson were

[92] One 49–53, 60–2.

[Map 3]

accompanied by extreme personal violence. An old man of seventy-nine was hit repeatedly over the head, had his watch stolen from him and 800 francs, and was shot at with a revolver—the bullet grazed his forehead. A woman was beaten over the head and about the body, stripped naked, and kept for an hour and a half in this condition in the middle of a crowd of German soldiers. "Finally," she states, "they bound me to my counter and signified their intention of shooting me. There were quite a number of officers among them. At the moment when, without doubt, they were going to carry their threat out, they were called away to another house. They left me in charge of a soldier who told me he was an Alsatian. This soldier unbound me, and I escaped." The next day, Sept. 5th, they hanged a woman because she resisted their attempts to violate her (after looting her shop). "My feet," she states, "were already about twenty inches from the ground, when I managed to get my penknife out of my pocket, open it, and cut the cord. I fell to the ground, and my assailants began to belabour me with blows. An officer, fetched by someone who had seen what was going on, ordered them to go away. They obeyed, but came back before long, and tried—unsuccessfully—to break open my shutters."

[Map 3]

In a village between Rebais and Coulommiers the body of a woman was found by the British troops. "She had been stabbed between the breasts," states a British corporal,[93] "and was quite dead. The priest said she had been outraged. The Germans had, I think, left the village the night before. The house and all the other houses had been ransacked and turned upside down." At *Saint-Denis-les-Rebais*,[94] too, a woman was violated by an Uhlan, but was not killed.

"At *Coulommiers*,[95] on the Grand Morin, a German officer arrested the Procureur de la République. The Procureur had not known where oats were to be found in the town, and they had now been found by the Germans themselves. The officer broke out into abuse: "You are a liar, you pig."—"You pig, you shall be shot."—"You pig, shut your mouth."—"If you have not found more oats within an hour, you shall be shot."—"We know the town is rich; a million francs, two millions, could be exacted here; if to-morrow morning, by 8 o'clock, you have not collected 100,000 francs, you shall be shot, and the town shall be bombarded and burnt." The Procureur, with the Mayor and the Town Clerk, was shut up in the lavatory of a private house for the night. A

[93] Bryce p. 193.
[94] One 54–6.
[95] One 30–2.

[Map 3]

soldier showed the Town Clerk a bucket of petrol on the stairs: "If we are fired on, we shall send a shot into that bucket and burn the house with you in it." At 2 in the morning they were led out to be shot. The firing-party cleaned their arms and lined up opposite them; the prisoners stood thus for 20 minutes, then, instead, they were driven along with the army, and finally released on the road. There was the usual pillage at Coulommiers—plate, blankets, linen, boots and bicycles were loaded on to motor-lorries and carried off. A woman was violated in the presence of her husband and children—the husband was terrorised by the assailants' arms.

At *Jouy-sur-Morin*[96] two Germans came into a house carrying looted bottles of champagne, and violated a girl of eighteen—the mother was kept off with the bayonet by each soldier in turn; the father was away.

The château of *La Masure*,[97] in the *commune of la Ferté-Gaucher*, was visited by four Germans —one of them an officer—on Sept. 6th. There were three civilians on the premises—the owner, M. Quenescourt, aged 77; his maid, aged 54; and a woman of 40, the wife of a refugee, who was receiving shelter in the château, with her twelve-

[96] One 57.
[97] One 58–9; Bland pp. 93–7; Bryce p. 195 (=Bland pp. 93–5).

[Map 3]

year-old son. The Germans took refreshment and went off; but between 7 and 8 in the evening all four returned. "They seemed the worse for drink, especially the officer." They began firing through the gate, and hit one of the watch-dogs, which had to be put out of its misery. When the gate was opened to them they demanded food and lodging. The maid cooked them food, and then M. Quenescourt advised both women to conceal their whereabouts for the night. They attempted to do so, but the Germans searched for them, and found first the refugee and then the maid. "The officer dragged me up to the attic," states the former, "tore off all my clothes, and tried, unsuccessfully, to violate me. Meanwhile, one of the soldiers robbed me of my purse containing 30 francs. At this moment M. Quenescourt, wishing to save me, fired up the staircase with a revolver. He was shot immediately, and the officer then made me leave the attic and compelled me to step over M. Quesnescourt's body." Finally the officer handed over his victim to his three companions. They threw her on to the murdered man's bed and violated her there, while the officer went to look for the maid. "He brought me," states the latter, "to see the body of my master. It was lying on the stairs, with one wound in the head and

[Map 3]

several others in the chest. . . . The officer then made me strip completely naked and violated me; he ordered me to make him coffee; he forced me to lie with him all night, keeping his rifle within reach, and gripping me tight all the time to prevent me from getting away." In the morning the women had to prepare coffee and chocolate for the four Germans. The officer dragged in two male civilians, and stripped the younger woman naked in their presence. "He aimed his revolver at us several times, and looked about for petroleum to fire the château and the farm. They all went off that morning about 8 o'clock. . . ."

In the town of *La Ferté-Gaucher*,[98] the Germans broke into a house and violated a woman in the presence of her four-year-old child. Pressing on from the Grand Morin to the Aubetin, they entered *Mauperthuis*[99] on Sept. 6th, seized a civilian from his house, and shot him at the other end of the street, as well as one of the hostages dragged hither from Vareddes.[1] They also seized and shot two caretakers in a neighbouring farm. In another farm, near *Amillis*,[2] they violated a woman, attacking her with bayonets drawn and revolver in hand. At *Beton-Bazoches*[3] they vio-

[98] Five 60.
[99] One 37–43.
[1] See p. 19 above.
[2] Five 59.
[3] One 33.

[Map 3]

lated a woman whose husband was with the colours, with her child three years old in the room. At *Courtacon*,[4] on Sept. 6th, they burned a number of houses, sprinkling them first with petrol and with one of the specially prepared inflammable liquids which they carried with them for this purpose. "Inhabitants," states the Mayor, "were compelled to provide matches and faggots." The troops who did this belonged to the Prussian Guard. Their next act was to drag the Mayor, four men of the commune, and a boy of thirteen to the firing-line, and use them as a screen. These five escaped with their lives, but the Germans led up a boy belonging to the conscript class of 1914, and asked the Mayor whether he were a soldier. "I told them," states the Mayor, "that he had been passed for military service, but that his class had not yet been called up. They stripped off his trousers to see if he were sound; then they let him dress again, and shot him fifty yards from where we were. I saw him fall." The boy was buried by his mother next day. At *Sancy-les-Provins*,[5] on Sept. 6th, a woman whose husband was with the colours and who was alone in her house with four children, was violated by a German cyclist quartered on her for the night.

[4] One 27–9.
[5] One 22–6.

[Map 3]

That evening the Germans collected about eighty inhabitants of Sancy in a sheep-fold, and next morning early, when they evacuated the village, they carried thirty of them, including the curé, away. They took them to a barn, where a German Red Cross ambulance was stationed. "A German surgeon-major," states the curé, "said something to the" (German) "wounded, and these at once loaded four rifles and two revolvers. I saw that they were going to execute us. A French hussar, wounded and a prisoner, said to me: 'M. le curé, come and give me absolution; I am going to be shot, and then it will be your turn.' I fulfilled his wish, and then, unbuttoning my cassock, went and stood against the wall between the Mayor and another of my parishioners. But at that moment two French mounted chasseurs arrived and saved our lives, for the Germans surrendered to them immediately. The hussar and all my companions made off, and we returned to the village without any further incident." It was the turn of the tide. Von Kluck's Army was in retreat.

(v) *From Liége to the Sambre.*

While von Kluck passed westward out of Brabant to the Scheldt, von Bülow, on his left, wheeled southward to the Sambre, and made his way to the Marne by more easterly routes.

[Frontispiece]

Leaving Brabant behind them and skirting the forts of Namur, von Bülow's Army traversed *Gembloux* on their way into Hainaut. In the market-place of Gembloux a Belgian despatch-rider[6] saw the body of a woman pinned to the door of a house by a sword driven through her chest. The body was naked and the breasts had been cut off. In *Hainaut*, von Bülow's right flank spread out westwards, to keep touch with von Kluck's left in the direction of Mons. At *Péronnes*[7] they burned 63 houses and shot 8 civilians, including the Burgomaster. "They shot the Burgomaster and his servant," states a Belgian witness,[8] "in front of the Hôtel-de-Ville. They bandaged the Burgomaster's eyes with his tricolour scarf of office. The relations of the dead men were ordered not to touch the bodies, which were left in the street forty-eight hours. . . . Three or four days before the Germans arrived, the Burgomaster had informed the civilian population, by means of circulars distributed to each house and placards, that all guns and fire-arms must be deposited at the Hôtel-de-Ville, and this was done." At *Faurœulx*,[9] on Aug. 24th, the Germans sacked the communal building, the

[6] k 5.
[7] xxii p. 136.
[8] b 16.
[9] xxii pp. 142–3.

[Map 2]

school, and the schoolmaster's house. For the six ensuing days they made requisitions without vouchers or payment in cash. Then, on Aug. 30th, they drove all the inhabitants out. The latter, when at the end of a fortnight they were allowed to return, found that 98 out of 104 houses in their village had been pillaged. The same method of pillage after expulsion was applied to ten other neighbouring villages—notably *Haulchin*, *Bienne-les-Happart*, *Peissant*, *Merbes-le-Château*, and *Sars-la-Buissière*—all situated in the obtuse-angle between the French frontier and the Sambre. The Germans admit (by excusing) their conduct in the statement[10] that at Peissant they found the doors and shutters of the houses barred and loopholed—as doubtless they did, for the British troops had been before them in this district and had made preparations for defence.

The French, too, on von Bülow's main front, defended the line of the Sambre, and the civilian inhabitants of the towns and villages along the river were treated atrociously by von Bülow's troops in revenge for the military resistance they encountered.

At *Monceau-sur-Sambre*,[11] on Aug. 22nd, the first Uhlans suffered casualties from French

[10] German White Book, Appendix 52.

[11] b 17 ; xxii p. 142 ; Ann. 5 ; R pp. 129–132 ; German White Book, Appendix 46.

9.—COIZARD.

10.—ST. PRIX: THE CHURCH.

II.—SUIPPES.

12.—HUIRON.

pickets on the outskirts of the town, and when they approached the river they were caught by French machine-gun fire from the bridge at Marchienne. "They proceeded," states an inhabitant of Monceau, whom they had taken prisoner, "to fire into the windows of the houses and break open the doors with their rifle-butts or with the axes which certain German infantrymen carry for this special purpose. . . . Shrieking like savages, they entered the houses and dragged out the inhabitants, making prisoners of men, women, and children alike. They then set fire to all the houses in the Rue de Trazegnies." The arson was effected by the usual method—a second squad of soldiers threw in bombs, hand-grenades, petrol or naphtha after the first squad had broken in the windows and doors. Two hundred and fifty-one houses altogether were burnt down or gutted by the fire; sixty-two others were pillaged. On a rough valuation, it is estimated that 1,500,000 francs' worth of real property was destroyed and personal property to the value of 500,000 francs, not reckoning in what the German pillagers carried away. The slaughter was in proportion to the destruction. Twenty-eight of the inhabitants were massacred as they came out of their houses; thirty received wounds from which they subsequently died; twelve were executed in cold blood. By

Nov. 4th, 1916, seventy inhabitants of Monceau had died at the hands of the Germans altogether. The circumstances of the massacre were atrocious. An old man of seventy-seven was killed as he was leaving his burning house. Entire families were killed—in one case [12] a father, a mother, and a boy eight years old. "The woman was shot point-blank in the courtyard of her house. The father, holding the child by the hand, took refuge in the garden; they were discovered by a German soldier and were both shot dead." In another household [13] they shot a boy of eighteen in the garden, carried off the other son and the father to the Château Baslieu, and shot them there, with other civilian prisoners, against a wall. "They shot the son first; then they compelled the father to stand close to his son's feet and to fix his eyes upon him, and shot him in that position." The boy shot in the garden had been carried into the house by the neighbours, at his mother's entreaty, and laid on a bed. Next morning the Germans asked what had happened to the corpse, and, hearing, piled straw round the bed and set it on fire—the whole house was burnt down.

"At Monceau," as a German diarist [14] describes it, "when our work was done, we assembled out-

[12] xxii p. 142.
[13] b 18.
[14] Ann. 5.

side the town, where the whole population had been gathered together for sentence, and all those who were found with weapons in their possession (*sic*) were shot." The remainder, including the Burgomaster, and numbering several hundred altogether, were driven before the Germans as a screen in their advance across the Sambre. "The soldiers," states one of these prisoners,[15] "struck us with their rifle-butts and bayonets. The Uhlans rode us down and struck us with their lances. I saw one man whose whole body was slashed by stabs from the lance. We were driven up the Rue de Trazegnies in the middle of the flames. The houses on either side of the street were burning." At the first halting place five of the prisoners were singled out and shot. "We heard the reports, and the firing-party returned to continue their meal. Others were playing gramophones and accordions taken from the pillaged houses. . . . We were then placed in ranks of four, followed by eight soldiers with loaded rifles. We were warned that if a single shot were fired, by civilians or soldiers, we should all be shot.

"When we were approaching the railway station at *Marchienne-au-Pont*,[16] the soldiers saw several civilians in the street and fired at them, happily

[15] Reply p. 131 ; vii p. 53.
[16] b 22 ; xxii p. 139.

[Maps 1, 2]

without result. We continued on our way in the middle of the flames; from time to time we had to turn aside to avoid the corpses of civilians and horses lying in the streets." Twenty-four civilians were massacred at Marchienne; one of them was an old woman of seventy-four, and another a girl of seventeen, who had cried "Vive l'Angleterre," mistaking the Germans for British troops. This girl's body was seen two days later lying in a field. "It was quite naked, and the breast was cut and covered with blood."

"At last," continues the witness, "we arrived at *Montigny-le-Tilleul*,[17] where we were shut up for the night in a small barn. About fifty people from Montigny—young men, old men, women, and babies in arms—were crowded in there as well. We were so crowded that we could not move. The heat was intolerable."

Five more of the prisoners from Monceau were shot that night, and two inhabitants of Montigny were shot as well. But next morning the prisoners from Montigny were released, and only those from Monceau were driven on—against the French positions at Gozée, which the Germans were marching to attack. "All the big farms in the district of *Gozée* and *Thuillies* were pillaged, and the fine horses carried away."

[17] xxii p. 139.

[Maps 1, 2]

Meanwhile, further east, other columns of von Bülow's were marching on Charleroi. At *Gosselies*[18] they seized thirty civilians and drove them forward to *Jumet*.[19] "The Germans entered Jumet," states a witness, "on Aug. 22nd. I saw them driving before them, to a place where French troops were entrenched, about 100 Belgian civilians, including some persons I knew. There were several women among them, and I noticed one child. The French fired on them, but none were killed. The civilians were kept in line in front of the Germans by cavalry on either side of them. When the French began to fire, the Germans fired on the civilians who were at hand and killed several. I was fired on, but not hit. The Germans fired into the houses on either side of the road." Ten civilians were killed at Jumet. "At a house close to mine," continues the witness, "the Germans banged on the door, and when my neighbour opened it to them he was shot in the face and killed"; but the worst violences were committed against women. One woman was driven along with blows from rifle-butts and added, with other women and children from Jumet, to the screen. Another, hiding in her cellar, was wounded by eight bullets and died in hospital.

[18] xxii p. 137.
[19] b 19; xxii pp. 138–9, 140.

Another, hiding in an oven, was wounded, and died the following day. Another woman was wounded in the nose, another in the back, another in the knee, another in the face. Six women testified to having been shot at and wounded by the Germans without provocation. In one house at Jumet, on the Brussels road, five women were living—the youngest sixteen, the eldest sixty-eight. "The Germans put us in a field," they state, "where they bound us to five men. They told us that we should be shot. We remained there about twenty minutes. During this time the soldiers kept levelling their rifles at us and threatening us with their bayonets."

Advancing from Jumet to *Lodelinsart*,[20] the Germans were received by French machine-gun fire and ran amok. At Lodelinsart twenty-four civilians were killed. "I saw there," states the last witness, "the dead bodies of two young men. They had been shot. The neighbours told me that these two young men and their father had been bound together by the Germans, and that, after the two sons had been shot, one of the father's hands was cut off. He was taken to the civil hospital at Charleroi."—"At Jumet and Lodelinsart," another witness states,[21] "I saw two German stretcher-bearers, who appeared to be

[20] xxii pp. 137, 140.
[21] xxii p. 140.

drunk, leave their stretcher and go and set fire to the houses."

In *Charleroi* itself [22] 160 houses were burnt, in the finest streets of the town. The incendiarism was carried out systematically, under officers' command. Here, too, civilians were driven as a screen before the German troops. There were two doctors [23] among them, wearing Red Cross badges on their arms. An old man, over sixty, tried to reach his house. "The Germans seized him by the legs, dragged him back into the street, and shot him dead with rifles."—"While I was in the streets," states another witness, "a number of German cavalrymen came into the town. At the time there were a large number of civilians in the streets. The Germans, without any warning, shot at the civilians, and I saw four men shot dead."—"I had hidden in a cellar with some of my friends," states a third. "The Germans found us and fired in. I was not wounded myself, but one of my companions fell dead on my arm. . . . They tied our hands behind our backs. . . . We were obliged to bury the dead. . . . As we were going away they shot at us and killed a man from Alost.

"The next day," the same witness continues,

[22] b 21, 24–5; Reply pp. 120–1: xxii p. 141; German White Book, Appendix 63 (uncorroborated by other evidence).

[23] Mentioned by name.

"I saw the Germans putting straw into the cellars of houses which had been burnt the day before, but in the cellars of which there were still living people, and setting the straw on fire. I was in the street when they were doing it. There were hundreds of Germans. There were officers ordering them to do this. I afterwards saw the cellars full of dead bodies." Forty civilians in all at Charleroi were shot, burnt, or suffocated to death.

At *Marcinelle*,[24] on Aug. 25th, a party of Uhlans were seen driving a body of fifty or sixty civilians before them. One old man, exhausted, was forced along by blows. At *Couillet*[25] four civilians over sixty years old were killed, and eighteen altogether. On Aug. 25th, the day the Germans entered Couillet, a young man returning home in the evening found his father, his mother, and his nephew (a child) lying dead in the house. "My father's body had eight bullet wounds in it, of which three were in the head and five in the body. My mother's body had five bullet wounds in it, one in the temple, one in the back of the skull, and three in the back. My nephew had been killed by a bayonet or sword—there were four wounds in the head and one in the stomach. There were twenty-seven bottles lying in the room, all of

[24] xv p. 21.
[25] b 23 ; xxii p. 138.

which were empty except one. These bottles had contained red wine." The father had been killed by eight German artillery officers because he had no bread in the house. They had killed the mother after she had brought them the wine. A few minutes later other Germans broke into the house, carried off the young man to Charleroi, and sent him with fifty other Belgian civilians in cattle-trucks to Aix-la-Chapelle. Here, after twelve days, a Bavarian soldier helped him to escape. When he returned to Couillet he found that his house had been burnt.

Other German troops advanced through *Boignée*,[26] where they shot a woman in a field, and *Pironchamps*,[27] where they murdered four civilians, including a man of sixty and a girl of fifteen. At *Gilly*[28] they murdered six civilians. Two women were thrown into a cistern, and a baker's wife had her jaw shattered by a bullet as she was standing in her shop. Twenty-three civilians were killed at *Farciennes*,[28] on the Sambre. Three of them were over sixty years old, three were children—one five months old and in its mother's arms. At *Châtelet*[29] a proclamation, signed by Baron von Maltzahn, Comman-

[26] xxii p. 139.
[27] xxii p. 137.
[28] xxii pp. 138, 139.
[29] xxii p. 140.

dant, ordered every inhabitant having in his house a French or Belgian soldier, wounded or not, to notify the same at the Hôtel-de-Ville, on penalty of being hanged himself and having his house burnt down.

The Germans marched into *Montigny-sur-Sambre* on Aug. 22nd. "First," states a Belgian witness,[30] "came the cyclists, about twenty; then about fifty infantry; then a good hundred Belgian hostages collected from the neighbouring villages, two or three of whom I knew personally—one F., a priest, and another priest whose name I do not know; then more cyclists, then more infantry. Then followed nearly three hundred hostages, generally five in a row, though sometimes only four. There was a large new rope round them, and the front, rear, and outside men had to hold it in their hands. They were escorted by soldiers with fixed bayonets.

"A detachment halted in the street and put down their arms. The Belgians gave them everything they wanted—food, cigars, soap, towels, I think—so that they might have no harm done to them or their houses and shops. . . ."

At this moment the French troops holding the crossing of the river opened fire on the Germans with two machine-guns posted outside the town. "The instant the French fired," continues the

[30] b 18.

Belgian witness, "the Germans set fire to houses all along the main street—I believe the total number was 131. They chased all the inhabitants out, saying that there were French soldiers there. There were no soldiers there, and they did not find a single one. . . .

"All these houses were totally destroyed. The street opens out into a circular *place*. There they burned every house except three, one of the inhabitants of which spoke German and asked them not to. They each carried a little bag containing pellets of an explosive nature.[31] They were a regular corps of incendiaries, and each of them had the word 'Gibraltar' on the left arm of his tunic. There were others who set fire to houses with petrol, but the regular incendiaries used these explosive pellets. They were thrown in in handfuls and made the fire burn very fiercely.

"About 10.30 p.m. about 200 hostages passed. At about the same time they put about fifty men, women, and children on the bridge over the Sambre, and kept them there till 5 a.m. The 200 hostages I saw at 10.30 were from Montigny itself. . . .

"On Saturday night (Aug. 22nd) many of the Germans were drunk. They pillaged all the shops. The whole town was full of them. . . . A

[31] The witness handed two samples of these to the Bryce Committee.

school prepared for Red Cross work, with beds all ready but not yet occupied by wounded, was burnt. It was a large building belonging to the Christian Brothers. Four of the latter were among the hostages I saw at 10.30 p.m., and were very badly treated. An officer, on inquiring what that large building was which was on fire, and learning that it was the Christian Brothers' temporary hospital, said: 'That is stupid.'[32] They marched the Christian Brothers to Somzée, more than 20 kilometres away. They beat them and tore their clothes."

The witness himself was seized as a hostage early on the morning of Aug. 23rd. "They charged me with not keeping the population in order, and said I was responsible for civilians firing on the soldiers. I replied that I had told everyone not to fire on the soldiers, and that I was sure that they had not done so. I explained that it was the French who had fired, and pointed out the position of their machine-guns. An officer said: 'It was the Garde Civique.' They had been disbanded on the Friday night, but I had not time to tell him so. All their rifles were in the Hôtel-de-Ville. The Germans themselves had found them there and destroyed them, and

[32] Another officer sent a soldier to save a priest's house from burning, when appealed to by the priest's niece, who spoke German.

set the Hôtel-de-Ville on fire. The officer said he would destroy the whole town with big guns.

"It was about an hour later when they took three men from among the hostages and shot them. It was said that these three had been found hidden in a cellar, and that there had been a revolver found in a chest of drawers on the first floor. There was no trial of any sort. . . . When they shot them, they told them to march forward, and then said: 'Halt! Right about turn!' and shot them the moment they turned. *Next day* they put up a notice that all persons found with arms would be shot and their houses burnt."

After these executions, the witness and the rest of the hostages were marched about the country-side all day. As they started, they were harangued by the German officer in command: "If we are fired at in the villages we are going through, you will all be shot. If we are not fired at, you will be set at liberty to-morrow." At their evening halt one of the hostages, a feeble-minded boy, tried to escape. He was shot in the thigh, and left to bleed to death. "The officer came up upon hearing the shots. He repeatedly struck the five men who were nearest the one who had tried to escape, with clenched fists, and banged their heads against the wall behind. Then he ordered the soldiers to shoot them. They led

them away a little distance and I heard the shots. He was in such a rage he could hardly speak."

Next morning the witness was released, and returned to Montigny with a pass. "I visited the hospital," he states, "and saw twenty-seven lying dead. . . . Several of them had been killed in the presence of their wives."

At *Bouffioulx*,[33] on Aug. 22nd, ten civilians were killed—three of them being over sixty years of age. "I saw a man lying dead in the street," states a witness, "shot through the chest about fifty yards from his house. He was an old man of sixty-five, in his ordinary clothes. His brother-in-law told me, next day, that he had been dragged out of his house when he was alone there with his wife. . . . In Bouffioulx about one-third of the houses were burnt down, and they tried to burn many others. I met one of my workmen sitting on his doorstep crying because they had burnt everything of his. I saw a friend dead in his house in the Chaussée d'Acoz. He had been shot in the chest, and his throat was cut." At *Les Tiennes* the same witness saw twenty-five cottages burning. He saw two men shot by the Germans as they tried to get out of a cellar, through the grating, to escape from the flames. In a hospital he saw a man and his wife—the man had been shot in the chest while getting out of his cellar;

[33] b 20 ; xxii p. 138.

[Map 1]

the woman could not get out, and was found there afterwards, terribly burnt. She died in hospital of her injuries.

Acoz[34] was evacuated by its inhabitants, at the request of the French Command, as soon as the Germans crossed the Sambre. "I met only very few people," states Lieutenant Huck, one of the German witnesses, who entered Acoz on Aug. 24th; "they were remarkably friendly, and offered me milk, and even water to wash with." In the Hôtel-de-Ville the Germans found the rifles and cartridges—each packet of cartridges ticketed with the owner's name—which had been deposited here, as in most other Belgian communes, at the Burgomaster's request. Shots, however, were fired at the Germans from the deserted houses (doubtless by a French patrol), whereupon the Germans broke down the doors, shot the only three inhabitants they found in the village, including the curé, who was nearly seventy years old, and set the village on fire. The Communal building, the post-office, a convent, and a school were among the houses burnt.

At *Gougnies*,[35] on Aug. 23rd, the Germans burned twenty-seven houses, including one which the owner had converted into a Red Cross

[34] Mercier; Reply pp. 108–9; German White Book, App. 43.
[35] Reply p. 122; German White Book App. 33.

[Map 1]

hospital. Ten wounded French soldiers were burnt to death in this house, and the owner, an old man, was shot next day. Two other civilians were shot at Gougnies, one of them being eighty-three years old.

At *Hansinne*, in the *Canton of Walcourt*, 39 houses were burnt, at *Hansinelle* 73, at *Somzée* 34. "At Somzée," states a witness in the German White Book,[36] "a number of civilians were shot" —because a German transport column was fired at by persons unascertained. In the Canton of Walcourt, 260 houses were burnt altogether.

Von Bülow's left flank columns crossed the Sambre close under the western forts of Namur. At *Jemeppe* they burned 21 houses; at *Ham*, 44; at *Auvelais* they burned 123, and killed about 55 of the inhabitants. Above Auvelais, they crossed the Sambre at *Tamines*,[37] on Aug. 21st.

At Tamines, again, the French disputed the Germans' passage. There was an artillery duel, and French rifle fire swept the approaches to the bridge. The Germans collected the inhabitants of Tamines and lined them up as a screen. "We were about 800 persons," states one witness,[38] "including women and children. They put us into a

[36] App. 34.
[37] b 14–15, 20; x p. 70; xi pp. 84–7; xxi pp. 119–123; Ann. 9; Morgan p. 97.
[38] xxi p. 120.

13.—AUVE.

14. — HEILTZ-LE-MAURUPT.

15.—ETRÉPY.

16.—CLERMONT-EN-ARGONNE.

meadow on the road to Velaines. The French ceased firing when they saw us. Then the German army defiled past us."—"I was seized with my father and brother," states another witness,[39] "in the cellar where I had taken refuge. There were about sixty of us, all men. The Germans put us in front of them as a shield. The French thereupon ceased firing. They allowed the Germans to cross the bridge and mass themselves in close formation, still preceded by us. About 5 o'clock the French opened fire with machine-guns. We threw ourselves on the ground; some ten of us were killed or wounded; the French did all they could to spare us." A third witness[40] watched the scene from a house on the further side. As soon as they were across, the people in the screen tried to save themselves by turning into the first houses beyond the bridge; the Germans fired on them, and several ran mortally wounded into the house in which the witness was standing, where they died.

"During the battle," states the last witness but one, "the Germans set fire to all the houses in the Rue de la Station, the Place Saint-Martin, and the Rue de Falisolle. They did not look to see if there were people in the houses." Two hundred

[39] xxi p. 122.
[40] x p. 70.

[Map 1]

and seventy-six houses were burnt down in Tamines from first to last. Meanwhile, the survivors of the screen, their function accomplished, were marched back and locked up for the night in the church of les Alloux. "The children were crying and screaming. . . . Everybody was begging for mercy." [41]

The pillage and incendiarism continued through the night. One household,[42] where the family had taken refuge in the cellar since 5 p.m. on Aug. 21st, was roused at 3 a.m. on the 22nd by German soldiers beating on the door. "They came in with their revolvers in their hands, saying: 'You see the fire all round you. Get out of this; it is all to be burnt.' They then began to break everything, and to set fire to the house by means of little syringes. They broke the pumps to prevent us from extinguishing the flames. They drove us out with the butt-ends of their rifles. . . . Together with the children, we climbed a twelve-foot wall and found ourselves in a garden. German soldiers fired at us from the road adjoining the garden. My brother-in-law had two bullets in his left arm. At the screams of the children (there were six of them—four very young) the firing ceased. . . ."

The last act at Tamines was reserved for that afternoon. "About 4.30," continues the witness,

[41] xxi p. 120.
[42] xxi p. 121.

[Map 1]

"the German troops arrived at the Place Saint-Martin in large numbers. Some soldiers saw us. We came out, and they took us to a superior officer. He drew his revolver, aimed it at the men of the family, and told the soldiers that we must all be shot. We knelt down and begged for mercy for the children. The soldiers then took us to the station, where another officer said: 'They must all be shot.' They set us against the wall and the soldiers pointed their guns at us. My sister-in-law went in search of the officer. The children cried: 'Have mercy upon us.' Then the officer called out: 'Halt!' He was quite a young man. He sent us to the church of les Alloux, where there were already 2,000 persons. The soldier said: 'You have been firing on us; you will all be shot.'"

What happened to the men is told by one of their number.[43] "The Germans forced the inhabitants (women and children as well as men) to leave their houses and go to the church.[44] While we went out by the front door the Germans entered by the back and set our houses on fire, so that in a very short time the whole commune was one vast furnace. When the whole population was assembled at the church, the women and children

[43] Morgan p. 97.
[44] Of Saint-Martin, adjoining the *Place*.

were sent off towards the nunnery, while the men —400 of us—were forced to march in ranks of four towards the open, between a double line of German soldiers. While we were marching the Germans kept on firing at us, and in this way pitilessly massacred a considerable number of my fellow-citizens. Seeing that numbers of my comrades were being struck down by the shots, I fell to the ground myself, though I was not wounded, and remained lying there among the corpses, without moving, till about midnight. That was how I saved my life."

This witness was more fortunate than most. At the first salvo [45] nearly all the 400 had fallen, whether wounded or not; others had thrown themselves into the Sambre. The latter were drowned or were shot by the Germans in the water. Those lying unwounded on the ground got up upon a German word of command, and were mown down immediately by a second hail of bullets—this time, it is said, from a machine-gun. Even then only about half the 400 were dead; the rest lay wounded on the ground, and the Germans went round the square, "finishing off" any who showed signs of life by bayonet thrusts or blows from the butts of their rifles. By the light of lanterns they carried on the slaughter far into the night. Many

[45] Reply p. 144.

of the slaughterers wore Red Cross badges on their arms. The witness last quoted found afterwards that only thirty of the 400 had survived, and of these only four were unwounded besides himself.

This witness was requisitioned next day for burying the dead. "On reaching the square," states another Belgian witness[46] requisitioned for the same task, "the first thing we saw was the bodies of civilians in a mass, covering a space of at least forty yards by six. They had evidently been drawn up in rank to be shot. . . . Actually fathers buried the bodies of their sons, and sons the bodies of their fathers. The women of the town had been marched out into the square, and saw us at work. All around were the burnt houses. In the square there were Germans—both officers and soldiers. They were drinking champagne. The more the evening drew on, the more they drank. . . . We buried from 350 to 400 bodies. . . . Then four mounted officers came into the square, and, after a long consultation, we were made to form into marching order, with our wives and children as well. We were taken through Tamines amid the débris which obstructed the streets, and led to Velaines between two ranks of soldiers. We all thought that we were going to

[46] xi pp. 85–6.

be shot in the presence of our wives and children. I saw German soldiers who could not refrain from bursting into tears on seeing the women's despair. . . ."

During the burial terrible incidents occurred. The last witness saw a German doctor order a man who was still alive to be buried with the rest. "The plank on which he was lying was borne on again, and I saw the man raise his arm elbow-high. They called to the doctor again, but he signified by a gesture that he was to go into the grave with the others."

Most terrible of all were the scenes of recognition. "I saw M. X—— carrying off the body of his own son-in-law. He was able to take away his watch, but was not allowed to remove some papers which were on him."—"A friend," states another witness,[47] "told me gently what had happened. I went to the public square and saw it littered with corpses in all kinds of positions. I did not see the bodies of my wife and child then. . . . I saw them for the first time when the dead were being buried that afternoon. My wife's body had a stab in the head, and also one in the breast, on the left side. My little girl had a stab in the neck. I saw also the body of the curé of the Church of les Alloux. His ears and one arm were

[47] b 15.

cut and nearly severed from the body. Among those who had been shot down the day before was my nephew, sixteen years of age."—"On Aug. 24th," states one of the witnesses quoted above,[48] who had been confined in the Church of les Alloux, "we went to the Place Saint-Martin, where we saw traces of blood. My sister-in-law recognised her husband's cap. We walked along the Sambre, and saw corpses on the banks and in the water. Of these last, forty-seven were taken out of the river—my husband among them. At the beginning of September, when the communal authorities were permitted to exhume the bodies and bury them in the old cemetery round the church, we learnt that my father-in-law and brother-in-law were among those shot, and my husband among those who had been drowned."

In addition to the great massacre, the Germans also committed isolated murders at Tamines. A witness whose shop looked on to the square,[49] saw them shoot a boy of fifteen, a girl of fifteen, and her two little brothers of twelve and eight. They also shot, in her sight, an old man of seventy whom they had requisitioned to help them pick up their own wounded. Three hundred and thirty-six of the Belgian civilians killed by the Germans

[48] xxi pp. 121–2.
[49] b 14.

[Map 1]

at Tamines are known by name. The total number of the victims runs to at least a hundred more.

The German column which had crossed the Sambre at Tamines went forward towards the south. At *Falisolle* they burned 31 houses; at *Arsimont*, 163; at *Fosse*, 70. "Advanced with my section into the village of Fosse," writes a German officer in his diary.[50] "Some shots were fired from a farm, so it was burnt, and Mey with it. . . . When the battalion entered the village there was a hail of bullets, so we burned the whole village, and the Seventh Company got 2,000 francs." On the road from Fosse to Vitrival, a fugitive Belgian soldier[51] saw a party of civilian refugees—ten women and several children—overtaken by twenty-four Germans. "A soldier approached one of the women, intending to violate her, and she pushed him away. He at once struck the woman in the breast with his bayonet. I saw her fall. Some of the man's comrades laughed as he showed them the bayonet dripping with blood. He then wiped the bayonet on his coat. I am certain that the whole of the twenty-four soldiers had been drinking."

At *Roselies*[52] the Germans killed the curé. At

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[50] Bland p. 160.
[51] b 5.
[52] Mercier.

[Map 1]

Biesmes [53] they killed eight civilians and burned seventy-two houses. At *Oret* they burned seventy-three houses. At *St. Gérard* they burned fifty-four houses. At *Ermeton-sur-Biert* they burned eighty-six houses and killed six civilians. "In front of the village of Ermeton," writes a German diarist on Aug. 24th,[54] "we made 1,000 prisoners; at least 500 were shot. The village was burnt because there had been shooting by the inhabitants too. Two civilians were shot at once. While searching a house for beds we stuffed ourselves to our heart's content. Bread, wine, butter, jelly, and all sorts of other things were our booty. We washed off the blood, and cleaned our side-arms. . . . That night we found our best quarters yet—plenty of clean linen, preserved things, wine, salt meat, and cigars. . . ."

This was how von Bülow's Army made its passage of the Sambre. The whole tract along the river, from the forts of Namur on the left flank to the forts of Maubeuge on the right, was visited with slaughter and devastation. A thousand and eleven houses were burnt in the *Canton of Fosse*, and 769 in twenty communes [55] of the Province of Hainaut, *Arrondissement Charleroi*. In these twenty communes—which include neither

[53] German White Book, App. 34.
[54] Bryce pp. 177–8.
[55] xxii pp. 140–1.

[Map 1]

Charleroi itself nor Montigny-sur-Sambre nor Tamines (which lies just within the Province of Namur)—2,221 more houses were partially burnt and pillaged; 110 men, 9 women, and 8 children were killed; 34 men, 12 women, and 3 children were wounded; more than 300 men, 250 women, 249 children, and 63 entire families disappeared. The value of the houses burnt was 4,795,937 francs; of the houses partially burnt or pillaged, 1,911,799 francs; of the goods and crops destroyed or stolen, 2,914,014 francs; of the furniture destroyed 2,850,529 francs; amounting to nearly 12,500,000 francs in all—and it is reckoned that the destruction in the remaining communes of the Arrondissement of Charleroi amounted to twice as much again. To this must be added the official requisitions of von Bülow's Army and the war contribution imposed upon the city of Charleroi and its urban area, which was fixed at 10,000,000 francs.

(vi) *From the Sambre to the Marne.*

Maubeuge, the French fortress on the Sambre, held out till Sept. 7th, but von Bülow swept past it towards the Marne.

On Aug. 26th a Belgian civilian prisoner [56] saw other civilians shot near *Maubeuge*, in a field.

[56] b 21.

[Map 2]

"Those who were shot were those who were running in front of the Germans and stopped a little. Those who did not stop were not shot."

The diaries of German soldiers show von Bülow's columns pouring southward over France.

"Aug. 19th," writes one,[57] "could not find the regiment; remained with ammunition column. Then, when we halted, plundered a villa, had much wine.

"Aug. 22nd, bivouack near *Anderlues*. Marauded terribly, fed magnificently.

"Aug. 26th, went into bivouack about 6 p.m. As always, the surrounding houses were plundered immediately. Found four rabbits, roasted them, dined magnificently. Plates, cups, knives and forks, glasses, etc. Eleven bottles of champagne, four of wine, and six of liqueur were drunk.

"Aug. 27th, marched off at 6.30. All still supplied with bottles of wine and champagne.

"Aug. 28th, *St. Quentin*. Had to bivouack in the market-place. Cleared out the houses, dragged out beds into market-place, and slept on them."

A second diarist[58] takes up the tale: "Aug. 23rd, march through the big town of 'Zur-Sell.'" (*Courcelles*, north-west of Charleroi, between

[57] Bryce p. 176.
[58] Bryce p. 174.

Gosselies and Anderlues.) "The people stand in the street, and give us whatever they have. . . .

"Aug. 30th, march through the garrison town of *Noyon* and are shot at from the houses. A main bridge is blown up just before we can get over it; we are under fire from all the houses in front of us. Everyone goes for the houses immediately, and everything is turned upside-down. We happen to get into a hotel, and anything that anyone can use is taken along. Here a steel watch comes into my hands. A bakery is stormed; all shops are cleaned out. This makes it a good day for us, for we eat what we like—biscuits, figs, chocolates, preserves, marmalade. An English officer shot with four men, because he wanted to blow up a bridge; otherwise everything quiet.

"Sept. 1st, *Soissons*. Everything usable taken along. Wine treated literally like water. . . ."

This was on von Bülow's extreme right flank, in contact with von Kluck. His other columns came down the other side of Maubeuge, east of the Sambre and the Oise. Between *Landrecies* and *Guise*, a soldier [59] in the British Army, retreating before von Bülow's advance, "saw a party of women and children coming along a road. Immediately behind them were about eight Uhlans, who were pushing the women and children along in

[59] g 14.

front of them. The latter were screaming. . . . We worked round the Uhlans' flank," the witness continues, "opened fire, and killed three of them. The others were driven round to the rear of our battalion and shot there. We found that the civilian party consisted of seven or eight women and five or six very young children. . . ."

Coming on through Laon, the Germans made for the Aisne. "At *Courtecon*," writes a German in his diary on Sept. 24th, "the inhabitants of the village are rounded up and led away. The assistant burgomaster is shot, because he is in telephonic communication with the French Army and has thus betrayed our movements."

Crossing the Aisne, the Germans entered *Braisne*, on the Vesle. "Two miles from Braisne," states another British soldier,[60] "I saw an old man of about seventy lying in a garden with his head split open by a sabre, and a young man on the ground shot dead. In the next garden I saw another young man, about twenty, tied to a tree and riddled with shot as if they had been practising at him. There had been a lot of destruction there, and the people were starving."

This was what von Bülow's troops left behind them in their retreat; but they penetrated far

[60] Bryce p. 191.

[Map 3]

further than the Aisne before they were turned back. Following the road from Soissons on the Aisne to Château-Thierry on the Marne, the Uhlans came to *Hartennes-et-Taux*[61] on Sept. 2nd. "They pillaged the whole commune," states the Mayor, "carrying off linen, wine, and jewellery."—"The inhabitants," it is stated in a report from the British General Staff, "had all taken refuge in the cellars of their houses. There were only three men in the village, the rest of the population consisting entirely of women and children." A French cavalry patrol fired on the Uhlans and retired; the Uhlans searched the village, and finding the three civilian men in a cellar where they had taken refuge, heaped straw at the opening of the cellar and suffocated them to death. "I saw them light the fire," states a witness, "and heard the men in the cellar coughing. After about twenty minutes, when the fire had gone out, I was ordered to go and fetch the bodies. I got out two, and fell half-suffocated myself."[62]

At *Bézu St.-Germain*[63] two Germans violated a girl of thirteen. At *Chierry*[63a] they plundered

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[61] One 457–460; Bland pp. 325–6.

[62] The Germans appear to have thought that the men in the cellar were the soldiers who had fired on them, but this does not, of course, excuse their action.

[63] One 447–8.

[63a] One 437–9.

[Map 3]

houses and châteaux. "At the *Château* of *Varolles*," states a gardener's wife, "I saw them feeding the fire with petrol and using torches to spread the flames. I also saw them looting the cellars. There were officers there." At the *Château of Sparre*, "pictures had been taken out of their frames and carried off, the tapestries in the dining-room had been ripped up with sword-cuts. The mirrors were broken. The whole cellar had been sacked." The damage done to these two châteaux was estimated respectively at 20,000 and 110,000 francs.

At *Château-Thierry*[64] a band of soldiers broke into a house at night. First the owner was bound; his wife escaped to a neighbour's by the window, but four soldiers followed her and violated her there in turn. Two other soldiers violated this lady's niece, aged thirteen. "Château-Thierry was completely pillaged," states the acting mayor. "The work was done under the officers' eyes, and the loot was carried away in waggons. German prisoners have been found in possession of jewels stolen here, and articles of clothing obtained from the plunder of the shops have likewise been found among the effects of German doctors who remained behind at Château-Thierry when their army left—

[64] One 454–6.

and this at the moment when these doctors were being exchanged."

At *Charmel*[65] the Germans, arriving on Sept. 3rd, pillaged the houses and cellars and burned a château. A woman was violated by a soldier. "He stretched me on a table," she states, "and gripped me by the throat." At *Jaulgonne*,[66] on the same date, the Prussian Guard pillaged property worth about 250,000 francs and killed two civilians—one eighty-seven, and the other sixty-one years old. The former was found lying shot in a field; the second was seen by the Germans talking to a French soldier (who escaped), and was seized as a hostage—he was killed next morning. "One of the Germans," states a witness, "gave him a bayonet stroke in the side. There was a dreadful rattling in his throat, and they finished him off with a revolver-shot in the forehead."—"I found two wounds," states the man who afterwards buried him, "one in the stomach, through which the intestines were protruding, and another in the head." On Sept. 3rd the Germans also entered *Varennes*. "We are received with a heavy fire," states one of the diarists quoted above,[67] who had marched thither from Noyon. "It has cost the battalion four dead and several

[65] One 444–5.
[66] One 440–2.
[67] Bryce p. 174.

[Map 3]

17.—SOMMEILLES.

18.—VASSINCOURT.

19.—VASSINCOURT.

20.— BRABANT-LE-ROI.

wounded. Corpses are lying about everywhere in the street.—Sept. 6th, the village is set on fire, because civilians have joined in the shooting."

Crossing the Marne, von Bülow's troops murdered, at *Mézy-Moulins*,[68] an old man of seventy-two. At *Crézancy* [69] they pillaged a château—the damage was estimated by an expert at 123,844 francs. The owner was not present—fortunately for himself, for a shopkeeper at Crézancy, who protested against the looting of his shop, was driven off, blindfolded and stumbling, but urged on by blows and bayonet thrusts, to Charly, where he was shot. Another inhabitant of Crézancy was also taken to Charly and killed. "He had a lance-thrust or bayonet-thrust near the heart." Another, a young man of eighteen, was dragged out of a house and shot on Sept. 3rd, the day the Germans arrived. After the murder, the German officer inquired whether the victim were a soldier, and remarked, on learning that he was not: "Well, he might have become one, anyway." At *Connigis* [70] the Germans murdered a man and violated a girl in the presence of her mother-in-law, taking it in turns to keep her father-in-law at a distance —her husband was with the colours.

[68] Five 65–6.
[69] One 449–452.
[70] One 432–4, 453.

[Map 3]

Passing out of the *Department of the Aisne* into the *Department of the Marne*, von Bülow's Army came to *Montmirail*, on the Petit Morin. Some of his officers lodged in the neighbouring *Château of Beaumont*[71]—their traces were the words "Excellenz," "Major von Ledebur," "Graf Waldersee," chalked up on the doors, and the state in which they left the château. In the town of Montmirail,[72] on the night of Sept. 4th, a non-commissioned officer assaulted a lady in the house where he was billeted. "When I called for help," she states, "my father, aged seventy-one, rushed up to protect me. At this moment about fifteen or twenty soldiers who were billeted on one of our neighbours broke open our front door, seized my father, dragged him into the street, and shot him to death. They began trampling furiously on his body, and my daughter, aged thirteen, opened her window to see what was making so much noise. She was struck by a bullet, which passed right through her, and died in agony after twenty-four hours."

At *Fontaine-Armée*,[73] in the *Commune of Rieux*, they pillaged a farm and shot the farmer, who would not leave his fields. His wife found his body. "He had received shots in the head which

[71] One 128.
[72] One 110–2.
[73] Five 17–8.

[Map 3]

had blown out his eyes. A sum of 800 francs which he had on him had disappeared."

At *Gault-le-Forêt*[74] they carried off a garde-champêtre and shot him in a neighbouring village. A farmer, his wife, and his little son of eleven were fleeing from their farm for fear it should be burnt over their heads. As they fled the farmer was shot dead, the wife received a bullet in the thigh, and the child was hit in the calf and died a week later of gangrene.

At *Champguyon*[75] they burned fifteen houses, using hand-grenades, petrol, and one of their special inflammatory liquids. They shot three civilians in cold blood, besides two French prisoners of war. One man was dragged to his death before the eyes of his wife. "The blood was pouring from his ears. I could do nothing to help him, for his tormentors thrust their rifle-muzzles at my throat."

At *Esternay*,[76] on Sept. 6th, the Germans pillaged nine-tenths of the houses. "The pillage was organised," states the Mayor's Assessor; "the objects taken were loaded on carts. My wife saw them put a sideboard on a cart which the pillagers had filled with bottles of champagne." Thirty-six hostages were seized, including ten

[74] One 69–72.
[75] One 107–9; Five 35–6, 42–3.
[76] One 113–7; Bland pp. 97–100.

[Map 3]

women—one of them with a baby six months old. A man was dragged into the street and shot in front of the church. Five women were discovered by the Germans hiding in a cellar. "Are you going to kill old women?" asked one of them. They hustled her out of the room, and shouted to the rest: "All strip naked." None of them moved; the Germans aimed their rifles; a woman raised her arm to push aside one of the barrels, and the Germans fired. Two women were wounded, one of whom died next day.

Châtillon-sur-Morin[77] was pillaged by the Germans on Sept. 6th. They burned twenty-one houses out of thirty-six, and two French soldiers perished in the flames. They pillaged *Courgivaux*[78] on the same date, and murdered a cowherd. "There was a bullet wound in the back of his head and a bayonet wound in his chest." But von Bülow penetrated no further to the south, for here d'Esperay fell upon him from the west, and Foch from Sézanne.

This was the track of von Bülow's right. His left wing—the Prussian Guard—came down by the road that leads through Hirson and Reims and Epernay.

At *Courey*, north-east of Reims, their work is

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[77] Five 51.
[78] Five 25–6.

recorded by a German soldier stationed there a month afterwards. "The village and the workmen's houses," he writes in his diary,[78a] "have been looted and gutted from top to bottom. Horrible. There is, after all, something in all the talk about the German barbarians."

The Germans entered *Reims*[79] on Sept. 3rd. "There was no fighting either in the town itself or in the immediate neighbourhood," states the Mayor, "and the forts had been evacuated by our troops." The Germans imposed requisitions on Reims, for which they demanded a security of 1,000,000 francs in cash, and on Sept. 4th the Mayor was negotiating about this with German officers at the Hôtel-de-Ville when a German battery began to bombard the town. On this occasion the damage suffered by the cathedral was slight, and the bombardment did not begin again till Sept. 12th, when the town was evacuated by the Germans. On that date they seized a body of civilian hostages to cover their retreat. A proclamation was posted in the streets, signed "The General Commanding," and dated "Reims, Sept. 12th, 1914."—"In order," it announced, "sufficiently to ensure the safety of our troops and the tranquillity of the population of Reims,

[78a] Bland p. 200.

[79] One 121; Bryce p. 185 (=Bland pp. 102–4; "Scraps of Paper" pp. 24–5).

[Map 3]

the persons mentioned have been seized as hostages by the Commander of the German Army. These hostages will be shot if there is the least disorder. On the other hand, if the town remains absolutely quiet, these hostages and inhabitants will be placed under the protection of the German Army." The Mayor was compelled to make the same announcement in a proclamation signed by himself. A list of eighty hostages was appended, with a note that "several others" had been taken as well. "A hundred hostages," states the Mayor in his evidence, "including myself, were led out into the country, five hundred yards beyond the last houses of Reims." The work of destruction that followed is notorious. Driven out of the town, the Germans vented their spite on the cathedral and the inhabitants. By October 7th, 1914, three hundred of the civilian population which the German Army had "taken under its protection" had already been killed by German shells.

Marfaux,[80] south-west of Reims, was entered by the "Elisabeth Regiment" of the Prussian Guard on Sept. 3rd. "Nineteen houses were burnt out of thirty-six," states an inhabitant; "the pillage was systematic. The valuables and linen taken by the soldiers were loaded at once on waggons. I and several other inhabitants tried

[80] One 67–8.

to save our beasts. We were immediately seized and lined up against a wall by order of the Commandant. We were kept there till 10 next morning."

At *Jonquéry*,[81] on Sept. 3rd, a German aeroplane alighted, and was followed by a detachment of infantry in the course of the day. Next day the Mayor was conveyed by a German officer in a motor-car to the spot where the aeroplane lay, and was informed (though this was not the fact) that inhabitants of the commune had fired on the aviators, and carried off the corpse of one of them towards Romigny. "He gave me till 8 o'clock next morning," states the Mayor, "to reveal the names of these persons. If I failed to furnish the information, I should be shot and the village burnt." Next morning the Mayor was duly seized, taken to a farm, and placed against a wall with three other men and a woman. One of the men attempted to escape, and the Germans shot him. Then they led the Mayor round the commune, to make the people come out of doors with their cattle. "At this moment the school was set on fire, and soon seventeen houses out of the thirty-five in the village were in flames."

Epernay,[82] on the Marne, was for a brief time

[81] Five 40–1.
[82] "Scraps of Paper" pp. 20–3.

[Map 3]

the quarters of von Moltke, the Chief of the German General Staff. "Private property," he announced in a proclamation dated "Epernay, Sept. 4th, 1914," and signed with his name, "will be absolutely respected by the German troops. Supplies of all kinds serving the requirements of the German troops, and particularly provisions, will be paid for in cash." Meanwhile, the Director of the Commissariat of the Prussian Guard, an official named Kahn, had demanded from the municipality, for Sept. 5th, 120,000 kilogrammes of oats, 21,000 of bread, 500 of roasted coffee, 10,000 of preserved vegetables and semolina, and 12,000 of salt bacon and lard. The municipality met the whole of this requisition within the appointed time, except for the salt bacon, of which there were only 2,000 kilos in the town; whereupon Kahn imposed a fine of 176,550 francs on Epernay, payable on Sept. 6th at noon, "for having failed to deliver in time the provisions necessary for the troops." An emergency meeting of the municipal council was held that evening at 9.15 p.m. "In spite of the Mayor's endeavours," it is recorded in the minutes of this meeting, "he had not been able to obtain either the items of the sum claimed or any reduction in the amount of the fine. In default of payment of this sum, the German authorities threatened

to take the most rigorous proceedings against the population itself, and to conduct forcible perquisitions in the houses of the inhabitants. On account of the threats made," the municipality appealed to private individuals to collect the sum demanded. Von Bülow, in his proclamation of the day before, had informed the people of Epernay that the civil authorities, by obeying his injunctions, were "in a position to save the inhabitants from the terrors and scourges of war." But on Sept. 5th the Chief of the German General Staff had other things on his mind.

At *Montmort*,[83] across the Marne, on Sept. 5th, the Prussian Guard shot a notary whom they met on the road, and another person, unidentified. At *la Caure*,[84] on Sept. 6th, they burned six houses, and twice tried to set the Mairie on fire. An officer to whom the Mayor protested replied, "It is war."—"The incendiarism," states the Mayor, "was the work of pure malice, for there had been no fighting in the village, and the Germans alleged no complaint." At *Corfélix*,[85] on Sept. 7th, the Germans carried off twelve hostages and shot one of them on the road. At *Fromentières*,[86] on the same date, they drove all the

[83] Five 12–4.
[84] Five 50.
[85] One 101.
[86] One 99.

[Map 3]

remaining inhabitants into the church at the point of their bayonets, confined them there for three hours, and plundered the village at their leisure —a method already practised in the villages round Louvain.[87]

At *Baye*[88] the Germans pillaged practically every house in the village, but they busied themselves above all with the *château*, which contained a famous collection of objects of art, and was appropriated as quarters by the Duke of Brunswick and the staff of the Tenth German Corps. Baron de Baye's own bedroom suffered worst of all. "The drawers had been left open and numbers of objects were lying scattered about the floor." The words "I. K. Hoheit" and "Egelberg" were found chalked up on the bedroom door. "On Sept. 7th," states an inhabitant of Baye, "I was requisitioned by the Germans to pick up at the château a cart loaded with four packing-cases and drive it to the neighbourhood of Rethel. The cart was ready loaded, and I had only to harness my horse to it. When I reached my destination three of the cases, which were badly nailed up, were emptied into a waggon. They were full of little parcels. The third was not opened. It was loaded on the waggon as it was."

[87] See Vol. I. p. 139.
[88] One 123–5

[Map 3]

At *Baizil*,[89] on Sept. 5th, three Germans entered a house, tried unsuccessfully to violate the owner's two daughters, and then shot his wife in the stomach—out of spite because the others had escaped. The woman died in hospital on Oct. 10th. *Etoges*,[90] too, was pillaged on Sept. 5th. "The cellars, in particular, were completely emptied," states the Mayor. "Women attached to the German Red Cross," he adds, "participated in the thefts committed at the general shop, château, and private houses." There were fifteen inhabitants hiding in a cellar, and one of them went out because a German had fired at a pile of straw near the entrance of the cellar and set it on fire. The others heard him cry: "Mercy! Don't hurt me! I have a wife and children." A moment after they, too, were dragged out by the Germans and saw his corpse lying by a wall. His wife, daughter, and sister were among the party, and heard the words he spoke. At *Beaunay*[91] a civilian was shot at by an Uhlan, but escaped with a wound. *Coizard*[92] was pillaged, and seven houses there were burnt. A French officer, wounded and a prisoner, was murdered by the Germans, in a farm near Coizard, when they were compelled to retreat.

[89] Five 15–6.
[90] Five 19–22.
[91] Five 23–4.
[92] Five 54–6.

[Map 3]

At *Vert-la-Gravelle*[93] a peasant was wounded mortally by a lance-thrust. He dragged himself to the door of a house and died. At *la Fère Champenoise*[94] the town clerk was carried away captive by a detachment of the Prussian Guard.

The column to which this detachment belonged had come down the high road which runs southward through Vertus from Epernay. They were the extreme left wing of von Bülow's Army, and they penetrated as far south as his right, which had come through Château-Thierry and Montmirail to the Grand Morin. His centre, striving to keep in line, descended from Fromentières and Baye and Coizard into the hollow basin of St. Gond, where the Petit Morin River takes its rise. The battalions and batteries of the Prussian Guard adventured themselves on the solid-seeming clay, but on Sept. 9th the rain came down and turned the clay to mire. The Prussian Guard were caught by the French fire as they battled with the waters, and were smitten like Pharaoh and his hosts.

[93] One 104.
[94] One 105–6.

[Map 3]

V. BETWEEN NAMUR AND VERDUN.

(i) *Andenne and Namur.*

The Marshes of St. Gond were the mid-point of a battle-line which stretched from the Oise to the Argonne, and ran on eastwards from the Argonne to the Vosges. In history, perhaps, it will be remembered as the line on which German strategy was foiled; for the people of France, it was the limit of German outrage and devastation. North and east of that line there was murder, rape, plunder, arson; south and west of it the farms and villages stood, and the women and children only knew by hearsay the fate which—over there—had been inflicted on their flesh and blood by the invaders. In the preceding chapters of this and of a former volume[95] the course of half these invading armies has been described—from the German frontier, where the terror began, to the limit set by defeat. The other half of the record remains to be told, and it could be told in equal detail, town by town, homestead by homestead, from the testimony of those who survived the

[95] "The German Terror in Belgium."

outrages and of those who inflicted them. For the individual actors in the tragedy each scene was equally intense; from day to day the guilt and agony were renewed; they were as poignant at la Fère Champenoise on Sept. 6th as on Aug. 4th at Visé by Liége. But for those who read the tale there comes a point where imagination rebels or is blurred by mere repetition, and the remainder shall therefore be more briefly written—to complete the record rather than to sharpen the impression.

Half the German armies crossed the Meuse between Liége and the Dutch frontier, and wheeled through Belgium into France. The other half crossed the river higher up, between Namur and Verdun, overran the Champagne flats, and penetrated into the hill-country of the Argonne. The two groups were linked together by the left flank columns of von Bülow, whose task was to seize the crossings of the Meuse between Liége and Namur and take the fortress of Namur itself, while von Bülow's main body swept forward through the open country to the north and west.

In the struggle for the passage of the Meuse the civil population suffered as cruelly as on the Sambre. In the *Arrondissement of Huy*, above Liége, 255 houses were destroyed, and about

[Frontispiece]

58 people killed.[96] Further up the river, at *Andenne*,[97] in the *Province of Namur*, 250 people were killed and 37 houses destroyed. The Belgian Reply to the German White Book summarises the evidence as to how the massacre occurred :—

"The town of Andenne is situated on the right bank of the Meuse, between Namur and Huy. A bridge gives it communication with Seilles, which is built beside the river, on the left bank. Before the war Andenne had a population of 7,800 souls.

"The German troops, wishing to cross to the left bank, reached Andenne on the morning of Wednesday, Aug. 19th. The advance-guard of Uhlans reported that the bridge was useless; it had been blown up the same day at about 8 a.m. by a Belgian infantry regiment. The Uhlans withdrew after seizing the communal funds and ill-using the Burgomaster, Dr. Camus. The latter had for several days past taken the most minute precautions to prevent the population taking any part in hostilities. Notices enjoining calmness had been posted, and all arms collected in the Town

[96] Flemalle : a 19, 21 ; xvii p. 65. Huy : b 4 ; xvii p. 61. (N.B. In the following notes, where no reference is given after a name, the implied reference is to the statistical tables on pp. 139–144 of the Belgian Government's Reply and in Annexe 2 to the Belgian Commission's Reports).

[97] b 1–4 and Bryce p. 184 ; xi p. 87 ; xxi p. 123 ; Reply iii and pp. 464–8 ; German White Book B.

[Map 1]

Hall. The authorities had approached some of the inhabitants personally to explain to them what they should do.

"The main body of the troops reached Andenne in the afternoon. The regiments spread through the town and its suburbs while awaiting the completion of a bridge of boats, which was not finished till the next day.

"The first meeting of the invaders with the townsfolk was peaceable enough. The troops made requisitions and obtained what they demanded. At first the soldiers paid for their purchases and for the drinks which they had in the cafés. But towards evening the situation changed for the worse in this respect. Whether it was that discipline slackened or that alcohol began to take effect, the soldiers refused to pay the inhabitants, who were too frightened to dare to raise objections. There was no trouble, and the night passed without incident.

"On Thursday, Aug. 20th, the bridge was ready and the troops passed in great numbers through the town, making for the left bank of the Meuse. The inhabitants watched their passage from inside their houses. Suddenly, at about 6 p.m., a rifle-shot rang out in the street, and was immediately followed by a burst of firing. The movement of troops was arrested and the ranks fell into

21.—RÉVIGNY.

22.—SERMAIZE.

23. — SERMAIZE.

24.—SERMAIZE.

disorder, panic-stricken soldiers firing at random. A machine-gun posted at a cross-roads opened fire on the inhabitants. One field-gun was unlimbered and discharged three shells at the town in three different directions.

"At the first shot the inhabitants of the streets through which the soldiers were passing guessed what was about to happen, and took refuge in their basements or climbed over walls and garden-hedges and sought safety in the fields or in distant cellars. A certain number of men who would not, or could not, flee were soon killed.

"The sack and pillage of the houses in the chief streets of the town began immediately. Windows, shutters, and doors were smashed with hatchets; pieces of furniture were broken open and destroyed. The soldiers rushed into the cellars, drank themselves drunk, broke all the bottles of wine they could not carry off, and finished up by setting some of the houses alight. During the night the firing burst out again several times. The whole population, trembling with fear, hid themselves in their cellars.

"On the morrow, Friday, Aug. 21st, at 4 a.m., the soldiers scattered through the town and hunted all the population into the streets, compelling men, women, and children to walk with their hands above their heads. Those who were too slow in

obeying, or who did not understand orders given them in German, were immediately struck down. All who tried to escape were shot. It was at this stage that Dr. Camus, for whom the Germans seemed to reserve their special hatred, was killed.

"A Flemish clockmaker, who had only started business in the town a short time before, left his house when the soldiers ordered him out, supporting his father-in-law, an old man of over eighty. This, of course, prevented him from holding up both his hands. A soldier rushed at him and struck him on the neck with his hatchet. He fell dying before his own door, and when his wife tried to go to his assistance she was driven indoors and had to look on helplessly at her husband's death-agonies. A soldier threatened to shoot her with his revolver if she crossed the threshold.

"In the meantime, the whole population was driven towards the Place des Tilleuls. Old men, sick people, even helpless invalids, were taken there on barrows, while others were helped or carried by their relations. The men were then separated from the women and children. All were searched, but no arms were found on them. One unlucky man had some empty German or Belgian cartridge cases in his pocket. He was immediately seized and led aside. The same thing happened

to a shoemaker who had had a wound in his finger for a month past. A mechanic was arrested for having in his pocket a screw-wrench, which was considered to be a weapon; and another man, because his expression appeared to show indifference to, or contempt for, what was going on around him. All these poor men were shot out-of-hand in the sight of the crowd. They met their end bravely.

"At their officers' command the soldiers selected forty or fifty men at random from the assemblage, led them away and shot them, some by the Meuse, the rest near the police-station.

"The men were for a long time kept in the square. Two unfortunates had been brought there, one of whom was shot in the breast, the other wounded by a bayonet thrust. They lay face downwards on the ground, reddening the dust with their blood and begging for water. The officers forbade the Germans to assist them; a soldier was reprimanded for wanting to offer his water-bottle to the wounded men, both of whom died in the course of the day.

"While this tragedy was being enacted in the Place des Tilleuls, other bodies of troops spread themselves over the neighbouring districts, pursuing their work of destruction, pillage, and incendiarism. Seven men belonging to the same

family were taken into a meadow fifty yards away from the home of one of them, where some of them were shot and the rest killed and mutilated with axes. A tall, red-haired soldier, with his face marked by a scar, distinguished himself by the ferocious way in which he mutilated the victims. A child was killed in its mother's arms by blows from an axe. One young boy and one woman were shot.

"At about 10 a.m. the officers sent the women back with orders to remove the dead and clean up the pools of blood which reddened the streets and houses. At noon the surviving men, about 800 in number, were interned as hostages in three little houses near the bridge. They were not allowed out on any pretext, and were so closely packed that they could not possibly sit down. In a short while these prisons became stinking pest-houses. The women were presently invited to take food to their relations. Many of them had fled, fearing violation. The hostages were not released finally till the following Tuesday.

"The statistics of the sack of Andenne are these: nearly 300 people were butchered in Andenne and Seilles; about 200 houses were burnt in the two places together. Many of the inhabitants are missing. Almost all the houses

[Map 1]

were ransacked and pillaged. The pillaging lasted several days.

"The many townspeople who have been questioned are unanimous in maintaining that not a single shot was fired at the troops. As they cannot account for the catastrophe which bathed their town in blood, they put forward various suggestions to explain it. Many of them are convinced that Andenne was sacrificed to establish a reign of terror. They instance words dropped by officers which go to show that the sacking of the town was premeditated, and recall remarks made by troops marching towards Andenne, to the effect that they were going to burn the town and massacre the whole population. They think that the destruction of the bridge, the blocking of a tunnel near by, and the resistance of the Belgian troops were among the causes of the massacre. All of them maintain that nothing could possibly justify or excuse the behaviour of the German forces."

The whole *Canton of Andenne*[98] was ravaged as the Germans flooded up the right bank of the Meuse, and then the wave of destruction swept over *Namur*.[99] What happened here is

[98] Goyet: xv p. 21. Haltinne. Maizeret. Loyers.

[99] b 8, 11–12; Bryce p. 184; xi pp. 81–4; vii p. 53; Bland p. 127.

[Map 1]

recorded in the Eleventh Report of the Belgian Commission :—

"On Aug. 21st, 1914, the Germans bombarded the town of Namur, without any previous notice being given. The bombardment began at about 1 p.m. and continued for twenty minutes. The besieger was in possession of long-range guns, which enabled him to fire upon the town before the forts had been taken. Shells fell upon the prison, the hospital, the burgomaster's house, and the railway station, causing conflagrations and killing several persons.

"On Aug. 23rd the German Army pierced the exterior line of defence, and the Belgian 4th Division retreated by the angle between the rivers Sambre and Meuse, while the greater number of the forts were still uninjured and continuing to resist. The German troops penetrated into the town of Namur on the same day about 4 p.m.

"On this day order was preserved; officers and soldiers requisitioned food and drink, paying for them sometimes with coined money, more often with requisition-certificates. Most of the latter were bogus documents, but the townspeople were trustful and ignorant of the German language, and so accepted them without making difficulties.

"Matters went on in the same way on Aug. 24th

till 9 o'clock in the evening. At that hour shooting suddenly began in several quarters of the town, and German infantry were seen advancing in skirmishing order down the principal streets. Almost at the same moment an immense column of smoke and fire was seen rising from the central quarter of the place; the Germans had fired houses in the Place d'Armes and four other spots, the Place Léopold, Rue Rogier, Rue St. Nicolas, and the Avenue de la Plante.

"All was now panic among the peaceable and defenceless townsfolk. The Germans began breaking open front doors with the butts of their rifles, and throwing incendiary matter into the vestibules. Six dwellers in the Rue Rogier, who were flying from their burning houses, were shot on their own doorsteps. The rest of the inhabitants of this street were forced to avoid a similar fate by escaping through their back gardens. Many of them were in their night-clothes, for they had not the time to dress or to pick up their money.

"In the Rue St. Nicolas several workmen's dwellings were set on fire, and a larger number, together with some wood-yards, were burnt in the Avenue de la Plante.

"The conflagration in the Place d'Armes continued till Thursday. It destroyed the Town Hall, with its archives and pictures, the adjacent

group of houses, and the whole quarter bounded by the Rue du Pont, the Rue des Brasseurs, and the Rue Bailly, with the exception of the Hôtel des Quatre Fils Aymon.

"No serious attempt was made to prevent the fire from spreading. At its commencement some of the townspeople came out at the summons of the fire-bell, but they were forbidden to stir from their houses. The Chief of the Fire Brigade, though the bullets were whistling round him, got as far as the site of the disaster; but an officer arrested him in the Place d'Armes, and then, acting under the orders of his superior, sent him away under an escort.

"The Germans, with the object of justifying their proceedings, alleged that shots had been fired against their troops on the Monday evening. Every circumstance demonstrates the absurdity of this statement. The juxtaposition of observed facts and the sequence of concordant evidence lead to the conclusion that the incidents at Namur were deliberately prepared, and merely formed part of the general system of terrorism which was habitually practised by the German Army in Belgium.

"Fifteen days back the people of Namur had given over to the Belgian authorities all the fire-arms that they possessed. They had been

informed by official notices about the rules laid down in the laws of war, and had been called on by the civil and military authorities, by the clergy, and the Press to take no part with the belligerents. The Belgian troops had evacuated the town thirty-six hours before the conflagration. The people, even if they had possessed weapons, would not have been so insane as to rise and attack the masses of German troops who filled the town and occupied all its approaches. And how can anyone account for the strange fact that, at all the five points at which the alleged rising was supposed to have broken out, the Germans were found in possession of the incendiary substances which were required for the prompt burning of the place?

"The disorder which followed assisted the pillage in which the German Army habitually engages. In the Place d'Armes houses were thoroughly sacked before they were set on fire. In the quarter by the Gate of St. Nicolas the inhabitants, when they returned to their homes, found that everything had been plundered; in one case a safe had been broken open and 17,000 francs' worth of securities had disappeared.

"On the following days, though things were comparatively quiet, pillage continued. In several houses where German officers were quartered the

furniture was broken up, and wine and underclothing (even female underclothing) was stolen.

"Our witnesses have detailed to us several outrages on women. In one case we have evidence concerning the rape of a girl by four soldiers. A Belgian quartermaster of gendarmes saw the daughter of the proprietor of the hotel in which he was staying outraged by two German soldiers, without being able to intervene for her protection, at 4 o'clock in the morning.

"Many inhabitants of Namur perished during the fire and the fusillade. Some aged people were left in the burning houses; others were killed in the streets or shot in their own dwellings. In all, seventy-five civilians perished in one or other of these ways on Aug. 23rd, 24th, and 25th."

"We crossed Namur during the bombardment of the town," states a Belgian soldier,[1] "and the streets were full of the corpses of men, some Belgian soldiers, priests, women, and children. I also saw the headless corpses of a woman and child lying over a balcony of a house in one of the streets. I think they had been killed during the bombardment of the town. In a street at Namur I and my two comrades (we had changed into civilian clothes meantime) mixed with a crowd of

[1] b 8.

about 150 people, when the German soldiers came up from side streets and without a word of warning fired on the unarmed people. Only ten persons escaped—I being one of them."

When Namur had fallen it was the turn of the villages on the north,[2] sheltered hitherto by the circle of the Namur forts. At *Champion*, on Aug. 24th, 10 houses were burnt and the population imprisoned in the church for shots which German patrols, on their own confession, had fired into the air. In the *Canton of Namur Nord*, 78 people were killed and 449 houses destroyed altogether.

(ii) *Through Dinant to Champagne.*

This was how von Bülow's left flank carried out its work from Liége to Namur; beyond Namur, in the angle between the Sambre and the Meuse, von Bülow joined hands with von Hausen, whose Saxon army had crossed the Meuse above the junction of the two rivers.

The Saxons entered Belgium at *Gouvy*,[3] near the head-waters of the Ourthe. "Here," writes a German diarist on Aug. 8th, "there was firing

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[2] Franc Waret. Gelbressée: b 9. Marchovelette: b 7. Bonnine: b 8. Champion: Reply p. 117; German White Book, App. 36. Bouge. Vedrin. Temploux: b 10.

[3] Bédier p. 21; German White Book, App. 13.

by Belgians on German troops, so we pillaged the goods station straight away. Some cases there. Eggs, shirts, and anything eatable dragged out of the cases. The safe gutted and the money divided among the men. Securities torn up."

"A child and an old woman were shot," writes another near *Erezée*.[4] "A wounded Belgian was carried away half-dead. All revolting and horrible. From where we are bivouacking we see the burning houses in the valley. It is revolting. . . . North of our route we passed another large village reduced to ashes."

"At *Braibant*," writes a third[5] on Aug. 19th, "whatever did not come of its own accord was plundered—fowls, eggs, milk, pigeons, calves. Many jolly happenings during the plundering.

"Aug. 20th.—The cavalry and the Marburg Jaegers are playing the devil in the surrounding villages."

"At *Spontin*," writes a fourth on Aug. 23rd,[6] "a company of the 107th Regiment and the 108th had orders to stay behind and search the village, take the inhabitants prisoners, and burn the houses. At the entrance to the village, on the right, lay two young girls, one dead, the other severely

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[4] Bland pp. 162–3.
[5] Bryce p. 175.
[6] Bland pp. 192–3; Reply p. 432.

[Map 1]

wounded. The priest, too, was shot in front of the station. Thirty other men were shot according to martial law, and 50 made prisoners."

And so, plundering and burning and killing,[7] the Saxons descended on *Dinant*[8] to force the passage of the Meuse. At Dinant 606 civilians—men, women, and children—were massacred, mostly between the morning and evening of Aug. 23rd. The circumstances are described in a report from M. Tschoffen, the Public Prosecutor of Dinant, who survived this terrible day and returned to bear witness after three months' detention in a German prison camp :—

"From Aug. 6th—that is, before the arrival of the first French troops, who came from Givet—German cavalry appeared at Dinant and Anseremme. These patrols sometimes penetrated into the heart of the town, and were met by rifle fire when they came into contact with the Belgian troops, who were then holding both banks of the Meuse.

"This is a statement of the incidents as they occurred. I mention them merely because they

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[7] Yvoir, Houx, Sorinnes, Gemechennes : xx p. 94 ; for Sorinnes see also German White Book, Apps. 31–2.

[8] Dinant (including Leffe, Bouvignes, Dinant, les Rivages, Neffe, Anseremme) : b 26–30 ; Bryce p. 171 ; xi pp. 90–3 ; xx ; xxi pp. 125–7 ; Ann. 3 (list of victims) ; German White Book C ; Reply iv, and pp. 468–482 ; Bédier p. 12 ; Bland pp. 112, 134–5, 175–7 ; Carnets pp. 19–24.

[Map 1]

show that the populace entirely abstained from attacks on the enemy.

"On Aug. 6th, at Anseremme (Dinant and Anseremme, although two separate communes, form a single group of houses), Belgian engineers fired on a hussar patrol and wounded a horse. At Furfooz the dismounted soldier took a farmer's horse in exchange for his wounded one.

"The same day or the day after, three hussars appeared in the Rue de Jacques (Ciney road). The Belgian carabineers or chasseurs wounded one and took him prisoner, and also another, whose horse was hit. The third escaped. These men belonged to a Hanoverian regiment.

"On the 12th, at 'aux Rivages' (Dinant) a detachment of the 148th French Infantry annihilated a cavalry patrol, only one man escaping. About the same date another detachment opened fire at 'Fonds de Leffe.' Two German cavalrymen were killed.

"On Aug. 15th the Germans attempted to force the Meuse at Anseremme, Dinant, and Bouvignes, but were repulsed. During the day several German detachments entered the city, but did not molest the townsfolk at all.

"The city and its inhabitants had very little to suffer from this engagement, which was, however, a very sharp one, and lasted all day. A M.

Moussoux was killed while assisting the wounded, and a woman was slightly wounded. On the right bank a French shell fell on a house, and a German shell on the post-office. Several houses on the left bank were struck by German shells. From the beginning of the action the Germans fired on the hospital, which was in full view and was flying a large Red Cross flag. In a few minutes six projectiles damaged the building. One shell entered the chapel just as the orphanage children were coming from mass. None were hurt.

"On the 17th or 18th the French ceased to hold the right bank in force, and contented themselves with patrolling it. Each day rifle and cannon fire was exchanged between the two banks. German cavalry again began to enter the city, where they moved about with impunity. Thus, about midday on the 19th, an Uhlan, coming from the direction of Rocher-Bayard, went off by the Ciney road without molestation. He crossed almost the whole width of the city. At nightfall on the same day another cavalryman made the same journey and also went off in safety.

"During the night of the 21st–22nd brisk firing suddenly began in the Rue St. Jacques (Ciney road). Some Germans had arrived in motor-cars and were firing on the houses, whose occupants were peacefully sleeping. They broke

[Map 1]

open the doors and severely wounded three people, one at least with the bayonet, and went away after setting fire to fifteen or twenty houses with bombs. They left a number of these behind, and the inhabitants threw them into the water. They assert that these were incendiary bombs.

"No one was able to understand this behaviour. The newspapers had reported that atrocities were committed near Visé, but no one believed it. Eventually they came to the conclusion that this attack was the work of drunken men, and awaited events without undue anxiety.

"On Aug. 23rd the battle between the French and German armies began early with an artillery duel. The first two rifle shots of the Germans were aimed at two young girls who were looking for a better shelter than the one they had.

"Everyone took refuge in the cellars.

"The Germans descended on Dinant upon Aug. 23rd by four main roads—all about the same time—nearly 6 a.m.

"These roads were: From Lisogne to Dinant; from Ciney to Dinant; Mont St. Nicholas, by which the troops which were on a part of the plateau of Herbuchenne arrived; and, lastly, the Froidval road, running from Boiselle to Dinant.

"I. The first of these roads leads to the district called 'Fonds de Leffe.'

[Map 1]

25.—AUDUN-LE-ROMAIN.

26.—AUDUN-LE-ROMAIN.

27.—NOMENY.

28.—NOMENY.

"Directly they arrived the soldiers entered the houses, expelled the occupants, killed the men, and set fire to the houses.

"M. Victor Poncelet was killed in his house in front of his wife and children. M. Himmer, manager of the factory at Leffe and Vice-Consul of the Argentine Republic, was shot with a number of his workmen. One hundred and fifty-two of the staff of the factory were murdered.

"The Premonstratensian Church was, I am informed, entered during mass. The men were dragged out and shot on the spot. One of the Fathers also was murdered.

"But what is the good of giving further details? One circumstance will sum up all. Of the whole population of this district, only nine men (apart from old men) remain alive. The women and children were shut up in the Premonstratensian Abbey, which was afterwards pillaged. We were to see soldiers parading the city in the vestments of the monks.

"II. The same scenes of fire and murder occurred at the Rue St. Jacques, which terminates the Ciney road. The victims, however, were not so numerous. Many of the residents in this district, more alarmed than the rest of the city by the events of the night of the 21st–22nd, had abandoned their houses.

[Map 1]

"From the Rue St. Jacques the Germans spread over the whole district. They killed people, but not so many as at Leffe. The inhabitants were shut up in the Premonstratensian Abbey. Everything was set on fire. They burned the tower and roof of our fine old Gothic church. They set fire to the doors, but did not succeed in completely destroying them.

"Farther on, the Grand Place and the Rue Grande, as far as the Rue du Tribunal, were spared for the time being. The Germans did not go there. The inhabitants were not interned until the next day.

"On the evening of the 24th and on the 25th, they set this part of the city on fire. Only one building, the Hôtel des Familles, remains.

"III. From the Rue du Tribunal to the other side of the prison the crimes were committed by the forces coming down from Mont St. Nicholas. I noticed the numbers, 100th and 101st Foot (Saxon).

"On this route as the troops arrived they behaved in the same way as at the Rue St. Jacques and at Fonds de Leffe—murder of a number of men, and arrest of the women and children.

"In the rest of the district the people suffered various fates.

"Having been gathered together and kept for

some time in a street where they were sheltered from the dangers of the battle, many of them—men, women, and children—were taken to a spot where the street is only built on on one side. The other side runs along the Meuse. The prisoners were arranged in a long row to serve as a screen against the fire of the French, while the Germans defiled behind this living rampart.

"As soon as the French realised who were the victims offered to them, they ceased fire. A young lady, twenty years old, Mlle. Marsigny, was, however, killed before her parents' eyes. She was struck in the head by a French bullet. Among those so exposed were my deputy, M. Charlier, M. Brichet, the inspector of forests, M. Dumont, the road surveyor, and their wives and families. The prisoners were exposed in this way for nearly two hours and were then taken back to prison.

"The same thing happened to a group of citizens who were exposed in the prison square to the fire of the French. They were made to keep their hands raised. They included a man of eighty, M. Laurent, the honorary president of the Tribunal, his son-in-law, M. Laurent, the judge, and the latter's wife and children. There were no casualties, as the French ceased fire, and the Germans were able to cross without risk. After two hours they were shut up in the prison. I mention the

names of some, because they are magistrates and officials with whom I am personally acquainted, but the number subjected to this treatment was at least 150.

"The other residents in this district were, like my family and myself, taken to Bouille and crammed into the house, stable, and forge. They even overflowed into the street.

"The people in the forge, including myself, were, as I have stated, brought out about two o'clock and taken to prison.

"About six o'clock the others were taken to a place in front of my house, not far from the prison. There the able-bodied men were taken out and lined up in four rows against my garden wall. An officer addressed them in German, and then, in the presence of the women and children, gave the order to fire. All fell down. The soldiers looking on from the terrace formed by the garden of M. Franquinet, the architect, burst into fits of laughter. Encircled by the flames which were consuming almost the entire district, those whose age or sex had saved them were set at liberty.

"I believe the exact number killed here was 129.

"The volley which struck them down was the one that we heard when we were placed in the prison yard to be led to death. Thank God, we

were late. One hundred and twenty-nine men were killed at this spot, but the number condemned was still larger. Several fell when the order to fire was given, and others were only slightly wounded and succeeded in escaping during the night. Not all those whose bodies were removed were killed on the spot. Some of those who escaped told me that M. Wasseige, the banker, was heard to say at the beginning of the night to a wounded man: 'Don't move. Keep still.' A passing soldier at once finished him off.

"Not until Wednesday could any attention be given to these victims. All movement was forbidden before then. On Monday and Tuesday the wounded were heard crying out and moaning. They died from want of attention.

"IV. The troops who came by the Froidval road occupied the district of 'Penant.' The inhabitants were seized on the arrival of the Germans and kept under guard near Rocher-Bayard. When the fire of the French slackened, the Germans began to construct a bridge, but they were still annoyed by a few shots. As these were infrequent, the Germans—honestly or otherwise—came to the conclusion that they were fired by *francs-tireurs*. They sent M. Bourdon, the assistant registrar of the Court, to announce that if the

[Map 1]

firing continued, all the prisoners would be executed. He did so, and, recrossing the Meuse, surrendered himself and informed the German officers that he had been able to make sure that only French soldiers were firing. A few more French bullets came, and then a monstrous event took place, which one's mind would refuse to believe were it not that the survivors who bear witness and the gaping wounds of the corpses furnished absolutely conclusive proof. The whole mass of prisoners—men, women, and children—were pushed up against a wall and shot.

"Eighty victims fell at this spot.

"Was it here or at the Neffe Viaduct, which I mention later, that a three months' old child was killed? I no longer remember.

"That evening the Germans searched among the bodies. Under the heap a few poor wretches were still living. They were dragged out and added to some prisoners brought from elsewhere and put to dig a grave for the dead. They were to be deported to Germany. Among them was a fifteen-year-old boy, the son of Registrar Bourdon, who was found under the bodies of his father, mother, sister, and brother.

"Those buried included a woman who was still alive. She groaned, but it mattered not. She was thrown into the trench with the others.

[Map 1]

"Right bank of the Meuse: The Germans crossed the river.

"St. Médard suffered relatively little. Not many were killed, and it is there that the greatest number of houses remain standing.

"In the Neffe district the Germans searched the houses, burning a fair number but leaving the rest alone. Some of the people were left at liberty; others were expelled from their homes and shot on the road; others again were arrested and taken to Germany. In some cases entire families were murdered without regard to age or sex (in particular the Guerys and the Morelles). One house caught fire where a woman with a broken leg was lying, still alive. Some of the people asked permission from the soldiers to rescue her. It was refused, and she was burnt alive.

"About forty people took refuge in a viaduct, under the railway line. Shots were fired and hand-grenades thrown at them. The survivors decided to come out, and the men were arrested to be taken to Germany.

"On Monday the 24th the Germans arrested the people of the Grande district, which they had spared the day before. They were shut up in the Premonstratensian Abbey.

"The few people who took the risk of coming out of the houses that were spared from the flames

in the other districts were either arrested or chased by shots. Several were killed, especially by soldiers firing across the Meuse.

"The heights which dominate the city were guarded. Some inhabitants who tried to escape that way succeeded, but more were arrested or killed.

"Priests and monks, professors at Belle Vue College, brothers of the Christian faith and lay monks were seized and interned in a convent at Marche. Towards the middle of September, General von Longchamp, the military governor of the Province of Namur, released them with the apologies of the German Army!

"All Monday and Tuesday the pillaging was continued, and the destruction of the city by fire was completed.

"Altogether, in this city of 1,400 dwelling-houses and 7,000 inhabitants, 630 to 650 were killed, of whom more than 100 were women, children under fifteen, and old men. Not 300 houses remain.

"Were women outraged?

"Only one case came directly under my notice. A very respectable citizen told me that, under the pretence of searching for weapons, his wife had been searched under her underclothes.

"Dr. X. told me that there were numerous cases

of rape. He knew of three clear cases in his own practice alone.

"Pillage was openly carried on. They brought carts on three consecutive days to my house to take away the plate, bedclothes—of which none remain—furniture, men's and women's clothing, linen, trinkets, ornaments from the mantelpiece, a collection of weapons from the Congo, pictures, wine, and even the decorations which belonged to my grandfather, my father, and myself. The mirrors and the dishes and plates were broken to pieces.

"Sixty thousand bottles of wine were stolen from the cellars of M. Piret, the wine merchant.

"To my own knowledge, in not one of the houses left standing was the safe not broken open, or did not show clear marks of attempted robbery.

"But why burden this report by recounting the personal misfortunes of the many citizens who have told me their harrowing stories? The facts are all the same, and what I have set out is enough to prove that murder, arson, and pillage were systematically organised and carried out in cold blood, even when the battle was over."

The facts are indeed witnessed to by the Germans themselves. "The civilian corpses littered everywhere are a sight which defies description,"

writes an officer of the 178th Saxon Regiment on Aug. 23rd, when the butchery was done.[9] "In most cases shots at point-blank range have carried away half their skull. Every house along the whole valley has been turned upside down, and the inhabitants dragged out of the most unlikely hiding-places. The men have been shot, the women and children placed in the convent. Shots came from the convent, and it had a narrow escape from being set on fire. . . ."

"In the evening at 10 o'clock," writes a private in the same regiment on the same date,[10] "the first battalion went down into the village that had been burnt to the north of Dinant. Right at the entrance of the village about 50 civilians lay dead; they had been shot for having fired on our troops from ambush. In the course of the night many others were shot in the same way, so that we could count more than 200. The women and children, lamp in hand, were obliged to watch the horrible scene. We then ate our rice in the midst of the corpses, for we had not tasted food since morning."

Across the Meuse the Saxons turned south, and, keeping in touch with von Bülow on their right, went forward by forced marches into France, still

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[9] Carnets, p. 22.
[10] Bédier, p. 12,

slaughtering and devastating on their way. In the *Canton of Dinant*[11] they destroyed 1,588 houses and killed 632 civilians in all; at *Hastières-par-delà*, in the *Canton of Beauraing*, they destroyed 66 and killed 18; in the *Canton of Florennes*,[12] 666 and 52. At *Surice*, in this canton, they shot 18 men in the sight of their mothers and daughters and wives. There were five ecclesiastics among them, and boys of sixteen and seventeen. "M. Schmidt's little boy of fourteen," states a Belgian witness, "was nearly put into the line—the soldiers hesitated, but finally shoved him away in a brutal fashion. At this moment I saw a young German soldier—this I vouch for—who was so struck with horror that great tears were dropping on to his tunic. He did not wipe his eyes for fear of being seen by his officer, but kept his head turned away." Those who were not killed by the first volley were clubbed to death; the corpses were plundered; the whole village was sacked, and 130 houses out of 172 were burnt.

"At *Villers-en-Fagne*," in the *Canton of Philippeville*, writes the Saxon officer quoted above, "the inhabitants had warned the French of

[11] Onhaye, Waulsort: xx p. 95. Hastières-Lavaux: Mercier; xx p. 95. Hastières-par-delà: xi pp. 93–4; xx p. 95.

[12] Morville, Hermeton-sur-Meuse: xx p. 95. Anthée: xx p. 95; German White Book, App. 38. Stave. Surice: b 11; Reply p. 454; x p. 78; xi pp. 94–6; xx p. 95. Franchimont. Romedenne: xx p. 95.

[Map 1]

our Grenadiers' approach by a signal from the belfry. The enemy artillery had fired several shells, and wounded or killed some Grenadiers. Thereupon the Hussars set fire to the village, and the curé and other inhabitants were shot." In the whole Canton of Philippeville the Germans burned 77 houses down; in the *Canton of Couvin*[13] they burned 298 houses and killed 6 civilians. On the road from Philippeville to Mariembourg, in this canton, the German cavalry drove Belgian peasants in front of them as a screen.[14]

At *Gué d'Hossus* von Hausen's army entered France. "Thank heaven," writes the Saxon officer on Aug. 26th,[15] "that for once in a way the divisional command has intervened energetically against this incendiarism and massacre of civilians. The charming village of Gué d'Hossus appears to have been delivered to the flames when entirely innocent. A military cyclist fell off his machine, and this made his rifle go off. Thereupon the male inhabitants were simply thrown into the flames. One hopes such horrors will not reoccur. At Leffe about 200 were shot—there an example was needed. It was inevitable that some

[13] Mariembourg. Dourbes. Frasnes. Couvin: Mercier; German White Book, App. 42.
[14] g 15.
[15] Carnets, p. 31.

[Map 1]

innocent people should have to suffer, but verification ought to be insisted upon in cases where there is suspicion of guilt, in order to put bounds to this indiscriminate shooting of all the men."

"Village stormed and looted," writes another German at *Novion*.[16] "Monday, Aug. 31st.—We passed through the town of *Rethel*, where we had a two hours' halt. Wine and champagne in abundance; we looted with a will."

"Live like God at Rethel," writes the Saxon officer,[17] who arrived there on Sept. 1st. "On Sept. 2nd the town is half destroyed by fire. . . . There is a touch of superfluity about French comfort, but the interiors of the houses were a sight to see. All the furniture turned upside down, the mirrors bashed in. The Vandals could have done no better. It is a stain on our Army's honour. . . . It lies heaviest on the troops serving the line of communications, for they have the time to pillage and destroy. Property worth millions has been annihilated here. They did not even stop at safes."

But here, as further west, the invasion was nearing its term. The Saxons crossed the Aisne at Rethel, and then, below Châlons, the Marne, and found themselves. with the Prussian Guard

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[16] Bland pp. 121–3.
[17] Carnets, p. 43 *seqq*.

[Map 4]

on their right, in the open plains of Champagne under the French artillery fire. At *Ecury-le-Repos*,[18] in the *Department of the Marne*, they pillaged houses and carried hostages away; at *Lenharrée*,[19] on Sept. 7th, they assassinated the mayor; but vengeance was at hand. "This decisive victory has cost terrible sacrifices," writes the Saxon officer after the fighting on Sept. 8th. "The surgeons say the 178th Regiment has about 1,700 severely wounded, without counting the dead. It was, after all, just hell. As for officers, there are practically none left."

The illusion of victory died hard. "Brigade order this evening," he writes again on Sept. 9th. "'*After the results obtained to-day, the 32nd Infantry Division is removed from the army formation and will be transferred to the north to be employed for other tactical purposes.*' We are amazed and rack our brains. I had all the sensations of a retreat when at six in the evening our division, by the blood-red light of the sinking sun, broke contact with the enemy. . . . We passed again across that fearful field of fire, by Lenharrée and through the underwood where we had suffered so terribly from the shells. . . ."

And thus the destroyers of Dinant fell back over the Marne.

[18] One 98.
[19] Five 30–4.

[Map 4]

(iii) *Through Luxembourg to Champagne.*

To the left of the Saxons the Duke of Würtemberg's army marched through Luxembourg and crossed the Meuse on the French side of the Franco-Belgian frontier.

At *Bastogne*,[20] where this army broke into the *Belgian Province of Luxembourg* after traversing the *Grand Duchy*, the Burgomaster was shot. At *Rosières* [21] they shot 6 civilians, burned a number of houses, and marched on, burning and killing in all the villages on their route. At least 120 civilians were killed and 135 houses burnt by these troops in the Province of Luxembourg [22]; in the *Canton of Gedinne*, of the *Province of Namur*, they killed 12 and burned 399.[23] "The enemy had occupied the village of *Bièvre* and the edge of the wood behind it," wrote a German non-commissioned officer on Aug. 23rd. "The 3rd Company advanced in the first line. We carried the village and pillaged and burned nearly all the houses." [24]

On Aug. 24th they were in France, crossing

[20] Bryce pp. 171, 174–5.
[21] Reply p. 457 ; German White Book, Apps. 11–2.
[22] Libin : viii § 2. Villance, Maissin, Anloy, Neufchâteau, Bertrix : viii §§ 3–4.
[23] Bourseigne-Vieille. Louette-St. Pierre. Willersée. Bièvre. Alle.
[24] Bédier p. 22.

[Map 1]

the Meuse at *Sedan*. "Lost a few men at Sedan," writes one of them in his diary on that date.[25] "A long halt at *Launois* in the afternoon. Completely looted the stationmaster's empty house. . . . March on with many drunk." At Rethel and above it they crossed the Aisne, and broke into Champagne with the Saxons on their right.

By Sept. 3rd they were at *Somme-py*, in the *Department of the Marne*. "A horrible blood-bath; the village burnt down; the French thrown into the blazing houses; civilians burnt with the rest."[26] At *Suippes*[27] they burned 84 houses by the usual methods, pillaged all but two (which belonged to a German immigrant and his father-in-law), violated a girl of thirteen, and made an attempt on a woman of seventy-two. At *St. Etienne*[28] they burned 24 houses out of 53; at *Lépine*, 9.[29] At *Châlons* their right flank columns crossed the Marne and pressed on south along the western bank of the river, keeping abreast with the left flank, which remained on the further side.

West of the Marne they tortured a woman at *Maisons-en-Champagne*[30]; burned down houses

[25] Bland pp. 177–8.
[26] Bland p. 155.
[27] One 82–9.
[28] One 94–7.
[29] One 63–5.
[30] Five 2, 37.

[Map 4]

29.—RÉMÉRÉVILLE.

30.—CRÉVIC.

31.—LUNÉVILLE : FAUBOURG D'EINVILLE.

32.—LUNÉVILLE : PLACE-DES-CARMES.

with their special incendiary apparatus at *Blacy*[31] and *Glannes*[32] and *Huiron*[33]; and carried the curé of *Sompuis*[34] into captivity with a number of his parishioners.

The fate of these hostages is described by the French Commission in their summarising report[35]:—

"Abbé Oudin, an old man of seventy-three, afflicted with asthma, was arrested and locked up in his cellar without food till the following day, with his maid, Mlle. Côte, aged sixty-seven, and MM. Mougeot, Arnould, Poignet, and Cuchard. On the 8th they were taken to Coole, where they had to pass the night—still without food. Then they were marched to Châlons-sur-Marne. On the way to Châlons the aged priest, who had been belaboured with rifle-butts and reduced to complete exhaustion, was unable to go further, so they put him with his maid on a butcher's cart, which the other prisoners had to drag along. . . .

"From Châlons they were removed to Suippes, and taken into a house to be examined. The abbé, who could scarcely stand, was seized by the

[31] Five 1, 57.
[32] One 73.
[33] One 77.
[34] One 102–3; Five 1–6.
[35] Five pp. 8–9.

shoulder and roughly shaken by an officer, who questioned him in an insulting tone. He came out from the examination dazed and tottering, and was then made to spend the whole night in the rain, in the courtyard of a school.

"On the 11th they reached Vouziers and were kept there till the 14th in a stable, where they had to lie on sodden sawdust. The 13th was a particularly atrocious day. Soldiers, especially officers, came in large numbers with the deliberate purpose of amusing themselves by tormenting the curé. They spat in his face, flogged him with their horse-whips, threw him in the air and then let him fall on the ground, kicked him or slashed him with their spurs all over the arms, thighs, and chest.

"After these abominable outrages M. Oudin was reduced to such a condition of weakness that his groans were hardly audible. On the 15th he was taken to Sedan, and in a hospital there he almost immediately succumbed. Mougeot, one of his companions in misery, who had also been beaten about the body and had several ribs broken, was removed about the same time to the Fabert Barracks. There, as a witness describes it, the Germans threw him on the straw like a dog and left him to die untended.

"Mlle. Côte was also the victim of monstrous

cruelties in the course of this terrible journey. Before reaching Tannay she was tied to a carriage-wheel. At the halting place the soldiers rolled her in the mud, struck her brutally, and dragged her by the hair. Next they pushed her into the church, where four of them threw her down on the altar steps, caught hold of her again, and threw her among the benches in the nave. . . ."

East of the Marne they burned *Somme-Tourbe*[36] and *Auve*[37]—at Somme-Tourbe the church escaped; at Auve it was burnt with the rest, and a woman over eighty years old inside it. About 130 houses were burnt at Auve out of 150 in the village.

They burned many houses at *Poix*.[38] At *Marson*[39] they murdered a civilian, exacted a war contribution of 3,000 francs, and on two occasions set the place on fire. They murdered another civilian at *Possesse*.[40] They burned down *Heiltz-le-Maurupt*[41] systematically on Sept. 6th. On the 8th they broke into a girl's room and violated her at *Jussecourt-Minecourt*.[42] From the 6th to

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[36] One 74.
[37] One 75–6; Five 47.
[38] Five 38.
[39] Five 49.
[40] Five 27–9.
[41] One 66.
[42] One 120.

[Map 4]

the 8th they pillaged *Heiltz-l'Evêque*,[43] keeping the inhabitants confined in the church. At *Etrépy*[44] they clubbed a woman of eighty-three to death, and were so thorough in their incendiarism that 63 families out of 70 were left without a roof over their heads. At *Bignicourt-sur-Saulx*[45] they burned houses (11 people were suffocated in a cellar) and carried away hostages—women and children as well as men. At *Lisse*[46] they burned 42 houses out of 64. At *Changy*[47] they shot a civilian for saying: "Here come the Prussians." At *Merlaut*[48] they killed two—one by shooting him, and the other, an old man of seventy, by dragging him across country at the tail of a horse. At *Vitry-en-Perthois*[49] they violated two women, one of whom was eighty-nine years old and died of the effects. But Vitry was the last town in France where the Duke of Würtemberg's army committed its abominations, for here, at the junction of the Marne and the Ornain, it suffered its defeat.

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[43] Five 38–9.
[44] Five 52–3.
[45] One 92–3; Five 48.
[46] Five 44–6.
[47] Five 7–8.
[48] Five 9–11.
[49] One 118–9.

[Map 4]

(iv) *Through Luxembourg to the Argonne.*

This was what the Duke of Würtemberg did in Luxembourg and Champagne; but Luxembourg was also ravaged by the Crown Prince of Prussia,[50] who passed across it on the Duke of Würtemberg's left, forced the Meuse below Verdun, and penetrated the Argonne.

At *Arlon*, near the sources of the Semoy, the Crown Prince sacked 47 houses and extorted a war contribution of 100,000 francs. At *Rulles* he burned 28 houses. At *Rossignol* he burned the whole village. One hundred and five of the inhabitants of Rossignol were carried away to Arlon, and shot in public at the railway station in batches of ten—one of them was a woman, and she was shot last, after having to witness the execution of the rest. At *les Bulles* several civilians were shot, and the church and 34 houses were burnt down. At *Etalle* 30 houses were

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[50] Arlon: viii § 2. Houdemont: viii §§ 3–4; White Book App. 18. Rulles: viii § 3; White Book, App. 18; Reply p. 456. Thibesart: White Book, Apps. 25–6. Rossignol: viii §§ 3–4; White Book, Apps. 23, 28; Reply pp. 135, 459–460. Les Bulles: viii § 3; White Book, Apps. 23, 28; Reply pp. 459, 462. Etalle: viii §§ 3–4; Mercier. Ansart: viii § 3; White Book, Apps. 19, 27. Tintigny: viii §§ 3–4; Mercier; White Book, Apps. 18, 20–25. Jamoigne: viii § 3; White Book, Apps. 19 29–30; Reply p. 458. Meyen: viii § 3. Izel: viii § 4. St. Léger: viii §§ 3–4. Musson, Baranzy: viii § 3. Mussy: viii § 3; Mercier. Signeulx, Bleid: viii § 3. Ethe: viii §§ 3–4; Reply p. 454; Bland p. 114. Latour: viii § 4; Mercier.

[Map 4]

burnt, 11 civilians shot, and the curé hanged in the church; at *Tintigny* and *Ansart* 90 were shot, including the curé. Only three houses at Tintigny were left standing. At *Baranzy* only four houses were left, and the curé was shot with two of his parishioners. At *Ethe* 197 were shot. "In the night," writes a German diarist, "Ethe was entirely in flames, and it was a magnificent sight from a distance. The next day, Aug. 23rd, Ethe was in ruins, and we looted everything that was left in the way of provisions. We carried off quantities of bacon, eggs, bread, jam, tobacco, cigars, cigarettes and, above all, wine for our regiment." At *Latour*, beyond Ethe, on the way to the French frontier, they shot the curé, his retired predecessor, and 69 other civilians. In these districts of Belgian Luxembourg which were traversed by the Crown Prince's army 523 civilians are known to have been massacred; and it is reckoned by the Belgian Commission that in the whole province a thousand were massacred altogether, and more than 3,000 houses burnt, by the Crown Prince and the Duke of Würtemberg between them.

Passing the Meuse below the forts of Verdun, the Crown Prince carried the German Terror into the Argonne. *Clermont*[51] was the first town in

[51] One 157–9.

[Map 4]

the Argonne which he destroyed; its fate has been described by the French Commissioners in their summarising report on the *Department of the Meuse*[52]:—

"The little town of Clermont-en-Argonne, on the slope of a picturesque hill in the middle of a pleasant landscape, used to be visited every year by numerous tourists. On Sept. 4th, at night, the 121st and 122nd Würtemberg Regiments entered the place, breaking down the doors of the houses and giving themselves up to unrestrained pillage, which continued during the whole of the next day. Towards midday a soldier set fire to the dwelling of a clockmaker by deliberately upsetting the contents of an oil lamp which he used for making coffee. An inhabitant, M. Monternach, at once ran to fetch the town fire-engine, and asked an officer to lend him men to work it. Brutally refused and threatened with a revolver, he renewed his request to several other officers, with no greater success. Meanwhile, the Germans continued to burn the town, making use of sticks on the top of which torches were fastened. While the houses blazed the soldiers poured into the church, which stood by itself on the height, and danced there to the sound of the organ. Then,

[52] One pp. 19–20.

before leaving, they set fire to it with grenades as well as with vessels full of inflammable liquid, containing wicks.

"After the burning of Clermont, the body of the Mayor of Vauquois, M. Poinsignon (which was completely carbonised), and that of a young boy of eleven, who had been shot at point-blank range, were found.

"When the fire was out pillage recommenced in the houses which the flames had spared. Furniture carried off from the house of M. Desforges and stuffs stolen from the shop of M. Nordmann, a draper, were heaped together in motor-cars. An army doctor (médecin-major) took possession of all the medical appliances in the hospital, and an officer of superior rank, after having put up a notice forbidding pillage on the entrance door of the house of M. Lebondidier, had a great part of the furniture of this house carried away on a carriage, intending it, as he boasted without any shame, for the adornment of his own villa."

At *St. André*[53] the Germans herded the inhabitants into a barn, and shot a man who had stayed behind to watch over the dead body of his wife—she had been killed the day before by a shell. They burned down two-thirds of *Bulain-*

[53] One 170.

ville[54] with their special apparatus. At *Nubécourt*[55] they carried away the curé, and he was never seen again. Their conduct at *Triaucourt*[56] is described in the French Commissioners' Report[57]:—

"At Triaucourt the Germans gave themselves up to the worst excesses. Angered, doubtless, by the remark which an officer had addressed to a soldier, against whom a young girl of nineteen, Mlle. Hélène Procès, had made complaint on account of the indecent treatment to which she had been subjected, they burned the village and made a systematic massacre of the inhabitants. They began by setting fire to the house of an inoffensive householder, M. Jules Gand, and by shooting this unfortunate man just as he was leaving his house to escape the flames; then they dispersed amongst the houses in the streets, firing their rifles on every side. A young man of seventeen, Georges Lecourtier, who tried to escape, was shot. M. Alfred Lallemand suffered the same fate; he was pursued into the kitchen of his fellow-citizen, Tautelier, and murdered there, while Tautelier received three bullets in his hand.

[54] One 140–1.
[55] One 168.
[56] One 151–6.
[57] One pp. 18–9.

[Map 4]

"Fearing, not without reason, for their lives, Mlle. Procès, her mother, her grandmother of seventy-one, and her old aunt of eighty-one, Mlle. Laure Mennehand, tried with the help of a ladder to cross the trellis which separates their garden from a neighbouring property. The young girl alone was able to reach the other side and to avoid death by hiding in the cabbages. As for the other women, they were struck down by rifle shots. The village curé collected the brains of Mlle. Mennehand on the ground on which they were strewn, and had the bodies carried into Procès' house. During the following night the Germans played the piano near the bodies.

"While the carnage raged, the fire rapidly spread and devoured 35 houses. An old man of seventy, Jean Lecourtier, and a child of two months, perished in the flames. M. Igier, who was trying to save his cattle, was pursued for 300 metres by soldiers who fired at him ceaselessly. By a miracle this man had the good fortune not to be wounded, but five bullets went through his trousers. When the curé Viller expressed his indignation at the treatment inflicted upon his parish to the Duke of Würtemberg, who was lodged in the village, the latter replied: 'What would you have? We have bad soldiers just as you have.'

[Map 4]

"In the same commune an attempt at rape was made which was unsuccessful by reason of the obstinate and courageous resistance of the victim; three Germans made the attempt on Mme. D., forty-seven years old. Further, an old woman of seventy-five, Mme. Maupoix, was kicked so violently that she died a few days afterwards. While some of the soldiers were ill-treating her, others were ransacking her wardrobes."

At *Vaubecourt*[58] they burned 106 houses out of 222. At *Lisle-en-Barrois*[59] they shot two civilians. At *Givry-en-Argonne*[60] a German officer threatened to burn the village if the mayor's assessor did not hand over to him a girl of fifteen who had excited his lust—the outrage was only averted by the arrival of French troops. *Sommeilles*[61] was completely burnt on Sept. 6th. "When the incendiarism started," states the Mayor, "M. and Mme. Adnot (the latter about sixty years old), Mme. X. (thirty-five or thirty-six years old), whose husband is with the colours, and Mme. X.'s four children all took refuge in the Adnots' cellars. They were there assassinated under atrocious circumstances. The two women

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[58] One 147–150.
[59] One 160.
[60] One 100.
[61] One 133–8.

were violated. When the children shrieked, one of them had its head cut off, two others one arm, and the mother one of her breasts, while everyone in the cellar was massacred. The children were respectively eleven, five, four, and one and a half years old."

At *Louppy-le-Château*[62] they violated three women and two girls—the eldest of the women was seventy-one years old, the girls were thirteen and eight. At *Villers-aux-Vents*,[63] on Sept. 7th, they stripped a man naked and shot him in a field. On the 8th they burned the village to the ground, so systematically that not a single house was left. At *Laimont*[64] they carried off seven hostages, who never returned. At *Vassincourt*,[65] where the French Army turned on them and compelled them to retreat, they burned, in rancour, the houses left standing by the shells. At *Revigny*[66] they burned two-thirds of the houses. At *Sermaize-les-Bains*[67] they burned 760 out of 800. The incendiarism at Sermaize and Revigny was perhaps more elaborate in its methods and more effective in its results than any other piece of material devastation which the Germans perpetrated in Belgium or France. The

[62] One 161–7.
[63] One 143–6; Five 139–140.
[64] One 169.
[65] Five 135–8.
[66] One 127–132.
[67] One 78–81.

[Map 4]

wilderness of rubble with gaunt chimneys rising out of it, and, here and there, a fragment of wall, remains as the Crown Prince's monument in France, marking his limitless will for evil at the limits of his power.

VI. THE RAID INTO LORRAINE.

(i) *From the Frontier to St. Mihiel.*

The Bavarian army which crossed the frontier on a line between Thionville and the Vosges was intended to take the fortress of Verdun in the flank and rear, force a passage south of it across the Meuse, and join hands with the Crown Prince in the valley of the Marne, as the Saxons joined von Bülow, between Meuse and Sambre, round the southern flank of Namur. But the Bavarians were checked at an earlier stage in their invasion than the armies on their right. The howitzers which had shattered the forts of Namur made no impression on the field-works of Verdun—thrown up at a week's notice, when the fall of Namur had shown the weakness of the old system and the possibility of improvisation. Verdun remained a barrier between the Bavarians in the Woëvre and the Crown Prince in the Argonne. Instead of passing the Meuse, they seized, too late for use, the single bridge-head of St. Mihiel. Pont-à-Mousson held out against them, almost within range of the guns of Metz, and Nancy was never in their hands. Yet though they failed of their strategic aim and

were held up nearer the frontier than any other of the invading armies, the outrage and devastation they committed in the few square miles of French territory which they overran was not surpassed by their companions who marched from Liége or Luxembourg to the Marne through the heart of Belgium and France.

Audun-le-Romain,[68] in the *Department of the Meurthe and Moselle*, the first village in French territory on the direct road from Thionville to Verdun, was occupied by the Germans on Aug. 4th, and for seventeen days the invaders confined themselves to requisitions and threats. But on Aug. 21st the German advance-guards fell back in disorder eastwards through the village, and the Germans in garrison there ran amok.

"They began to set fire to the houses," state the French Commission,[69] "and to fire into the windows and at the inhabitants. Seven women (mentioned by name) were wounded, and the foreman roadmender, M. Chary, was shot dead as he came out of the church. M. Martin, agriculturist, was dragged out of his house, received three bullets, and fell dead at his door, before the eyes of his wife and daughters. The Uhlans fell upon

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[68] One 367 ; Five 165–176.
[69] Five pp. 26–7.

[Map 4]

the body and stabbed it with their lances, while one of them clove the head with his sabre. A young officer shot down M. Somen, the ex-mayor, with his revolver, when the victim was just shutting his barn door. M. Michel, the mayor's assessor, and M. (Edouard) Bernard tried to see to him, and for this they were taken, bound, to Ludelange, and shot there the following day.

"Next day, Aug. 22nd, there was an engagement between the invaders and some French troops. The enemy was at first compelled to retire, but soon returned in force and occupied the village once more. Six men (mentioned by name) and two Italians were then massacred in their homes or in the public streets. One of them—Thiéry—was only eighteen years old, and his mother, who was present at the execution, was on her knees, imploring mercy for him, while he was being shot.

"During these two days of slaughter almost all the houses were burnt down, not only at Audun-le-Romain, but in the neighbouring commune of Malavillers as well. At Audun there were about 400 houses, and hardly a dozen of them are left."

There were even worse outrages at *Jarny*,[70] another village near the frontier, but further south, on the road to Verdun from Metz :—

[70] Five 178–184.

[Map 4]

33.—GERBÉVILLER.

34.—GERBÉVILLER.

35.—GERBÉVILLER : LA PRÊLE.

36.—GERBÉVILLER : LA PRÊLE.

"On Sept. 25th one of the many Italians working in the local factories shot his dog, and the Germans immediately pretended that he had fired at them. This was quite sufficient to provoke outrages of the worst kind. A fire was immediately started which consumed twenty-two houses and the church steeple, while the soldiers roared out songs, to the accompaniment of a pianola, in an inn beside the church. While the house of Mlle. Anna François was burning, the tax-collector, M. Daval, noticed five Bavarians in front of the building, rifle in hand, and—to use his description—in the attitude of a sportsman waiting for a hare to start from its form. The incendiaries, in fact, often behaved in this way, giving their victims only the choice of being burnt alive or shot. Several people met their death under these tragic circumstances, and it was thus that the members of the Pérignon family perished—father, mother, and son were struck down by bullets as soon as they left their blazing house. The daughter, Mme. Leroy, escaped death, but had her arm fractured by a bullet.

"The same day other murders took place. For no reason whatever, M. Fournier, a café proprietor, and his nephew were arrested at home, carried off in a motor-car, and both shot, six hundred yards from their house. A Bavarian soldier of the 4th

Infantry Regiment levelled his rifle at M. Lhermitte, as he was going indoors, and killed him. He then opened the breech of his rifle to extract the empty cartridge and quietly got into a regimental cart.

"Mme. Bérard, the wife of a soldier on active service, was ordered to give some men of the 66th and 68th Bavarian Regiments something to drink. She had already drawn a large number of buckets of water for them, when an officer—or a non-commissioned officer—considering that she had done enough, commanded her to go back home. As the Germans were firing at the house, Mme. Bérard hid herself in the cellar with her three children—Jean, aged six; Maurice, aged two; Jeanne, aged nine—and the Aufiero family. But soon she noticed petrol being poured through the ventilator, found herself suddenly surrounded by flames, and rushed out wildly, carrying one of the little boys under each arm, while her little daughter and young Béatrice Aufiero ran beside her, clinging to her dress.

"Just as the party were crossing the stream called the Rougeval, a few steps from the house, the Bavarians opened fire on the fugitives. Little Jean was struck in the thigh, low down on the leg, and in the breast, and cried out: 'Oh! mother, I am hurt!' He died immediately. Béatrice

Aufiero received a bullet which almost completely severed her right arm; and her sister Angèle, a child of nine, who was following close behind her, was wounded, not quite so badly, in the calf.

"Mme. Bérard was then joined by Mme. Aufiero, and reached the road, where an awful sight met their eyes. About twenty yards away the Germans were executing Aufiero, whom they had brought out of the cellar. One of them, turning to the wife of the man they were about to execute, said to her with a grin: 'Just watch us shoot your *Mann*!'—'Oh! my poor Come!' she screamed.—'Shut your mouth!' they replied.

"The two women and the children were then taken to the meadow of Pont-de-l'Etang, where a general ordered them to be shot. But Mme. Bérard flung herself on her knees and begged mercy, crying and clutching his hands, till he consented to spare them. One of the officers present pointed to the corpse of little Jean, to whom the mother still clung, and said: 'There's one who will never fight against our men later on.' Next day the unhappy woman, who had spent the night in a place called the Zeller Barrière, was told that she must dispose of her child's remains as quickly as possible. Finding nobody to make a coffin, she procured from the canteens a couple of cases in

which rabbits had been packed, and nailed them end to end. She then placed the body inside and went to the end of the garden to dig the grave. A Bavarian officer had the shamelessness to ask her to sell him—as a souvenir, no doubt—a medallion containing a photograph of the little murdered boy which she wore on her neck.

"On the 26th the Germans continued the slaughter. M. Génot, the mayor, Abbé Vouaux, and MM. Fidler and Bernier, who had been arrested the day before, were lined up along a fence behind the Blanchon inn, and shot on the word of command. Besides these victims, M. Plessis, a retired gamekeeper, was dragged out of his house and killed in front of it, and many Italians were put to death.

"It need hardly be said that at Jarny, just as everywhere else, pillage was the accompaniment of murder and incendiarism. The soldiers carried off ornaments and objects of worship from the sacristy of the parish church; and banners, altar cloths, and even grave cloths were found afterwards in the streets and fields."

Fresnes,[71] in the Woëvre, was occupied by the Bavarians for six days, and on Sept. 15th, when they evacuated it, they shot the acting mayor and

[71] Bland pp. 334–5.

his son, set their house on fire, and threw the son's wife and another woman alive into the flames. They burned 50 houses at Fresnes altogether, besides a girls' school and the town hall. The houses were plundered systematically before they were burnt; the loot was carried off in motor-cars to Germany, and 58 families at Fresnes were left without a home.

At *Combres*,[72] a few miles further south, on the eastern heights of the Meuse, the whole population was dragged out on the morning of Sept. 22nd and herded on to a hillside as a screen for the Bavarians against the French fire. Twelve hours later, at dusk, they were herded back, and given an hour to collect the barest necessaries from their (already plundered) homes. Then they were locked up in the church for the night, and at 4 o'clock next morning herded out again on to the hillside for a second day. After that they were confined in the church for five days consecutively, till finally the men were separated from the rest and transferred by slow stages to the German internment camp at Zwickau—half-starved on the way and exhibited to the German populace at every station where the train made a halt. The women and children were kept in the church night and day for a month, with disgusting restrictions

[72] Two pp. 13–5 (5 centime edition).

[Map 4]

on sanitation which produced an outbreak of dysentery and croup.

The Germans left their trail in the Woëvre from north to south. "At *Loupmont*," writes a diarist on Sept. 5th,[73] "a fine country house; beautiful room with Persian carpet; on carpet slaughtered sow; in the bed sucking-pig, also slaughtered; blood running down the stairs."

Loupmont lies a few miles south-east of St. Mihiel, where the Bavarians reached the Meuse and were brought to a stand.

(ii) *From the Frontier to Lunéville.*

Further east, the Bavarian centre never reached the Meuse at all. *Pont-à-Mousson*,[74] on the Moselle, was bombarded year in and year out from the beginning of the war, and by Nov. 10th, 1914, fourteen of the civilian inhabitants had already been killed, but the Bavarians never entered the town, and it escaped the horrors perpetrated by the 2nd and 4th Bavarian Infantry Regiments at *Nomeny*[75] on the Seille.

"We experienced real horror," state the French Commission, "when we found ourselves before the lamentable ruins of Nomeny. With the ex-

[73] Bland pp. 197–8.
[74] One 173
[75] One 174–198; Bland pp. 200–215.

[Map 4]

ception of some few houses which still stood near the railway station in a spot separated by the Seille from the principal group of buildings, there remains of this little town only a succession of broken and blackened walls in the midst of ruins, in which may be seen here and there the bones of a few animals partly charred and the carbonised remains of human bodies. The rage of a maddened soldiery has been unloosed there without pity.

"Nomeny, on account of its proximity to the frontier, received from the beginning of the war the visits of German troopers from time to time. Skirmishes took place in its neighbourhood, and on Aug. 14th, in the courtyard of the farm de la Borde, which is a little distance off, a German soldier killed by a rifle shot without any motive the young farm servant Nicholas Michel, aged seventeen.

"On Aug. 20th, when the inhabitants sought refuge in the cellars from the bombardment, the Germans came up after having fired upon each other by mistake, and entered the town towards midday.

"According to the account given by one of the inhabitants, the German officers asserted that the French were torturing the wounded by cutting off their limbs and plucking out their eyes. They

were then in a state of terrible excitement. That day and part of the next the German soldiers gave themselves over to the most abominable excesses, sacking, burning, and massacring as they went. After they had carried off from the houses everything which seemed worth taking away, and after they had despatched to Metz the booty of their pillage, they set fire to the houses with torches, pastilles of compressed powder, and petrol, which they carried in receptacles placed on little carts. Rifle shots were fired on every side; the unhappy inhabitants, who had been driven from the cellars before the firing, were shot down like game—some in their dwellings and others in the public streets.

"MM. Sanson, Pierson, Lallemand, Adam Jeanpierre, Meunier, Schneider, Raymond, Duponcel, and Hazotte, father and son, were killed by rifle shots in the streets. M. Killian, seeing himself threatened by a sabre stroke, protected his neck with his hand. He had three fingers cut off and his throat gashed. An old man, aged eighty-six, M. Petitjean, who was seated in his armchair, had his skull smashed by a German shot. A soldier showed the corpse to Mme. Bertrand, saying: 'Do you see that pig there?' M. Chardin, town councillor, who was acting-mayor, was required to furnish a horse and carriage. He had promised to do all he could to

obey, when he was killed by a rifle shot. M. Prevot, seeing the Bavarians breaking into a chemist's shop of which he was caretaker, told them that he was the chemist and that he would give them anything they wanted, but three rifle shots rang out and he fell, with one deep sigh. Two women who were with him ran away and were pursued to the neighbourhood of the railway station, being beaten all the way with the butts of rifles, and they saw many bodies heaped together in the station garden and on the road.

"Between 3 and 4 in the afternoon the Germans entered the butcher's shop of Mme. François. She was then coming out of her cellar with her boy Stub and an employee named Contal. As soon as Stub reached the threshold of the entrance to the door he fell severely wounded by a rifle shot. Then Contal, who rushed into the street, was immediately murdered. Five minutes afterwards, as Stub was still groaning, a soldier leant over him and finished him off with a blow of a hatchet on the back.

"The most tragic incident in this horrible scene occurred in the house of M. Vassé, who had collected a number of people in his cellar in the Faubourg de Nancy. Towards 4 o'clock about fifty soldiers rushed into the house, beat in the door and windows, and set it on fire. The

refugees then made an effort to flee, but they were struck down one after the other as they came out. M. Mentré was murdered first; then his son Léon fell with his little sister, aged eight, in his arms. As he was not killed outright, the muzzle of a rifle-barrel was thrust against his head and his brains blown out. Then it was the turn of the Kieffer family. The mother was wounded in the arm and shoulder. The father and a little boy aged ten and a little girl aged three were shot. The murderers went on firing on them after they had fallen. Kieffer, stretched on the ground, received another bullet in the forehead, and his son had the top of his head blown off by a shot. Last of all M. Strieffert and one of Vassé's sons were murdered, while Mme. Mentré received three bullets, one in the left leg, another in the arm on the same side, and one on her forehead, which was only grazed. M. Guillaume was dragged into the street and there found dead. Simonin, a young girl of seventeen, came out last from the cellar with her sister Jeanne, aged three. The latter had her elbow almost carried off by a bullet. The elder girl flung herself on the ground and pretended to be dead, remaining for five minutes in terrible anguish. A soldier gave her a kick, crying 'Kaput!'

"An officer arrived at the end of this butchery,

ordered the women who were still alive to get up, and shouted to them 'Go to France!'

"While all these people were being massacred, others, according to an expression used by an eye-witness, were driven like sheep into the fields under the threat of immediate execution. The curé, in particular, owed his escape from being shot to extraordinary circumstances."

At least 50 civilians were killed at Nomeny—that number are known by name, and the list is probably incomplete. "At 5 o'clock," writes a soldier of the 8th Bavarian Regiment, "we were ordered by the officer in command to shoot all the male inhabitants of Nomeny and raze the town to the ground, because the inhabitants were foolishly attempting to stop the German troops' advance by force of arms. We broke into the houses and dragged off all who resisted, to shoot them according to martial law. Houses not destroyed already by the French artillery or our own were set on fire by us, so that nearly the whole town was reduced to ashes. It is a terrible sight when helpless women and children are reduced to utter destitution and driven forth into France."

South of Nomeny, *Nancy*,[76] like Pont-à-Mousson, escaped with a bombardment—the

[76] One 171–2; Five 141–3.

[Map 5]

official list of civilian victims over a period of many months is given in the fifth volume of the French Commission's Reports—and there was no point west of Lunéville where the Bavarians reached the Meurthe. They bore down in strength upon Lunéville from the north, burning and killing on a broad front as they advanced.

Brin,[77] the first village on the French side of the frontier, was plundered and burnt. At *Erbéviller*[78] the male inhabitants were arrested, threatened with death, and locked up in a barn, on the pretext that German sentries had been shot at by one of them. "I am not certain that it was these men who fired," the German officer confided to a woman of Erbéviller the same evening, "and I will let them go to-morrow morning if you can pay me immediately a thousand francs." The ransom was paid, and the receipt which the officer signed for it is in the French Commissioners' hands.[79]

Rémérèville[80] was plundered and burnt systematically on Sept. 7th. A hundred and six houses were burnt here, and 29, including the Mairie, at *Courbessaux*,[81] where the Bavarians

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[77] One 370; Bland p. 198.
[78] One 357–8.
[79] One 358.
[80] One 350–3.
[81] One 356.

[Map 5]

fired on an inhabitant who tried to extinguish the flames. Thirty-five were burnt at *Drouville*,[82] and 36 at *Maixe*.[83] At Maixe, also, 9 men and 1 woman were massacred. The woman was shot in a cellar; the men were killed in various ways—one was burnt alive in his house, while his wife was kept at a distance by force. At *Crévic*[84] the Germans took especial pleasure in burning the house belonging to General Liautey, who is a native of the place. They burned 75 other houses here as well, and killed 3 inhabitants, one at least of whom was burnt alive. At *Sommerviller*[85] they shot two old men aged seventy and sixty-five, and looted the shops. At *Deuxville*[86] they burned about 15 houses, carried off the mayor and curé as hostages, and shot them at Crion on Aug. 25th. At *Hudiviller*[87] they shot a man in cold blood, in the sight of his fifteen-year-old son. At *Vitrimont*,[88] on the north-western outskirts of Lunéville, they shot a man of sixty-nine on Aug. 24th, two days after their first entry, and burned 32 houses on Sept. 6th, when they passed through the village again in their retreat.

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[82] One 354–5.
[83] One 289–298.
[84] One 279–283 : Five 162–4.
[85] One 319–322.
[86] One 284–7.
[87] One 342.
[88] One 359–360.

[Map 5]

Other Bavarian columns descended on Lunéville by parallel routes to the east. At *Arracourt*,[89] where these crossed the frontier, they shot a civilian and burned 5 houses. Their officers plundered and defiled the *Château de Bauzemont*[90]—staff officers' wives were observed removing the loot in motor-cars, and when the French troops returned they found that the floors and beds had been carefully covered with filth. At *Einville*[91] the Bavarians murdered four civilians—one of them after brutal torments. "They led him past our house," states a witness[92]; "his nose had been almost hacked off, his eyes were haggard, and he seemed to have aged ten years in a quarter of an hour. A high officer came up and said something in German, and eight soldiers led the prisoner away to his fate. Ten minutes later I saw them return without him, and one of them said in French: 'He died before . . .' "—before what refinement of torture will never be known. In the course of an action with the French the Bavarians forced the Mayor of Einville to find civilians to bury the dead. Three of those impressed were wounded and one killed while engaged on this task. The mayor himself, with

[89] One 368–9.
[90] One 299–300.
[91] One 309–318.
[92] One 315.

[Map 5]

his assessor and another inhabitant, was carried off as a hostage on Sept. 12th, when the Bavarians evacuated the place, and was confined for six weeks in a German prison. At the farm of *Remonville*,[93] near Einville, four civilians were killed. The bodies of two of them were recovered later; both the heads had been cut off, and one of them bashed in.

At *Bonviller*[94] the Bavarians burned 26 houses. At *Jolivet*[95] they shot an inhabitant, plundered the place, and sent off their loot in waggons before they retired. At *Chanteheux*[96] they passed the Vezouse, and their outrages here are summarised in the French Commission's Report:—

"The village of Chanteheux, situated quite close to Lunéville, was not spared either. The Bavarians, who occupied it from Aug. 22nd to Sept. 12th, burned there 20 houses in the customary manner and massacred 8 persons on Aug. 25th, MM. Lavenne, Toussaint, Parmentier and Bacheler, who were killed, the first three by rifle shots, the fourth by two shots and a blow with a bayonet; young Schneider aged twenty-three, who was murdered in a hamlet of the commune;

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[93] One 317–8.
[94] One 306–8.
[95] One 304–5.
[96] One 245–253.

M. Wingerstmann and his grandson, whose deaths we have recorded in setting out the crimes committed at Lunéville; lastly, M. Reeb, aged sixty-two, who certainly died as the result of the ill-treatment which he suffered. This man had been taken as hostage with some forty-two of his fellow-citizens, who were kept for thirteen days. After having received terrible blows from the butt of a rifle in his face and a bayonet wound in his side, he continued to follow the column, although he lost much blood and his face was so bruised that he was almost unrecognisable, when a Bavarian, without any reason, gave him a great wound by throwing a wooden pail at his forehead. Between Hénaménil and Bures his companions saw that he was no longer with them; no doubt he fell by the way.

"If this unhappy man was to suffer the most cruel martyrdom of all, the hostages taken with him in the commune had also to suffer violence and insult. Before setting fire to the village the hostages were set with their backs to the parapet of the bridge while the troops passed by, ill-treating them. As an officer accused them of firing on the Germans, the schoolmaster gave him his word of honour that it was not so. 'Pig of a Frenchman,' replied the officer, 'do not speak of honour; you have none.'

[Map 5]

37.—GERBÉVILLER : LA PRÊLE.

38.—DONCIÈRES.

39.—NOSSONCOURT.

"At the moment when her house was burning Mme. Cherrier, who was coming out of the cellar to escape suffocation, was drenched with an inflammable liquid by some soldiers who were sprinkling the walls. One of them told her that it was benzine. She then ran behind a dunghill to hide herself with her parents, but the incendiaries dragged her by force in front of the blaze, and she was obliged to witness the destruction of her dwelling."

At *Croismare*,[97] a mile or two further up the Vezouse, on Aug. 25th, the Germans fired at every civilian they saw as they were passing through the village in retreat. A mounted officer shot one man outright, and then made two others line up in front of him while he reloaded his revolver. He dropped three cartridges, and made them pick them up. They asked for mercy and he answered: "Nicht pardon, cochon de Französe! Kaput!" With that he fired twice, wounding one victim in the shoulder and maiming the other's hand. A night or two later, in the streets of Croismare, the report of a rifle was heard. "That is enough to get you and the burgomaster shot," remarked a German officer to the curé. "Sir," replied the curé, "you are too intelligent not to recognise

[97] One 346–9.

the sharp report of your own German rifle. I certainly recognise it myself." The officer, the curé adds, did not pursue the conversation further.

At *Emberménil*,[98] further east again, the Bavarians shot a woman with child and a young man in the sight of the rest of the inhabitants; but this was later—on Nov. 5th—and meanwhile their columns, advancing from north-west and north and north-east, had occupied Lunéville for three full weeks—Aug. 22nd to Sept. 11th—and had perpetrated there some of the worst atrocities of any that were done in the whole invasion of Belgium and France.

(iii) *Lunéville.*

The outbreak of the Bavarians at *Lunéville*[99] on Aug. 25th bears a sinister resemblance to the outbreak at Louvain, on the same date, of other German troops; but there is little likelihood that these outbreaks were timed to coincide, and little evidence, even, that either of them was preconcerted, at a fixed hour, by the Higher Command. The outbreaks themselves, and the extraordinarily similar courses they followed, are accounted for by the general spirit which the Higher Command instilled into the German soldiery, and by the

[98] One 363–5.

[99] One 199–244; Five 144–7; *German Proclamations*: "Scraps of Paper," pp. 10–11 (=One 202=Bland pp. 100–1), 12–3, 14–5.

standing orders they gave to the hierarchy of officers through whom their executive orders reached the men in the ranks. The private soldier was encouraged to look on every French and Belgian civilian as an unconfessed and treacherous *franc-tireur*. The company officers and N.C.O.'s were instructed upon the least suspicious circumstance—a light, a tramp of feet, the report of a rifle shot fired no matter by whom—to forestall trouble by unleashing the worst passions of their men. The Higher Command accomplished its policy of "Frightfulness" by more subtle methods than is commonly supposed. Its influence on its subordinates' minds was penetrating in proportion as it was indirect, and its responsibility was often greatest where the individual soldier's action appeared to flow spontaneously from criminal tendencies in himself.

The evidence relating to the conduct of the German Army at Lunéville is summarised as follows by the French Commission[1]:—

"Lunéville was occupied by the Germans from Aug. 21st to Sept. 11th. During the first few days they were content to rob the inhabitants without molesting them in any other way. Thus, in particular on Aug. 24th the house of Mme.

[1] One pp. 23–6.

[Map 5]

Jeaumont was plundered. The objects stolen were loaded on to a large vehicle in which there were three women, one of them dressed in black and the two others wearing military costumes, and appearing, as we were told, to be canteen-women.

"On the 25th the attitude of the invaders suddenly changed. M. Keller, the mayor, went to the hospital about half-past three in the afternoon, and saw soldiers firing in the direction of the attic of a neighbouring house, and heard the whistling of the bullets, which appeared to him to come from behind. The Germans declared to him that the inhabitants had fired on them. He protested, and offered to go round the town with them in order to prove the absurdity of this allegation. His proposal was accepted, and as at the beginning of the circuit they came across the body of M. Crombez in the street, the officer commanding the escort said to M. Keller: 'You see this body. It is that of a civilian who has been killed by another civilian who was firing on us from a house near the Synagogue. Thus, in accordance with our law, we have burnt the house and executed the inhabitants.' He was speaking of the murder of a man whose timid character was known to all, the Jewish officiating minister Weill, who had just been killed in his house, together with his sixteen-year-old daughter. The same officer added: 'In the same way we

have burnt the house at the corner of the Rue Castara and the Rue Girardet, because civilians fired shots from there.' It is from this dwelling that the Germans alleged that shots had been fired into the courtyard of the hospital, but the position of the building makes it impossible for such a statement to be true.

"While the mayor and the soldiers who accompanied him were pursuing their investigation, the conflagration broke out on different sides; the Hôtel-de-Ville was burnt as well as the Synagogue, and a number of houses in the Rue Castara and the Faubourg d'Einville were in flames. The massacres, which were continued until the next day, began at the same time. Without counting M. Crombez and the officiating minister Weill and his daughter, whose deaths we have already mentioned, the victims were MM. Hamman, Binder, Balastre (father and son), Vernier, Dujon, M. Kahn and his mother, M. Steiner and his wife, M. Wingerstmann and his grandson, and finally MM. Sibille, Monteils, and Colin.

"The murders were committed in the following circumstances:—

"On Aug. 25th, after having fired two shots into the Worms tannery to create the belief that they were being attacked from there, the Germans entered a workshop in this factory, in which the

workman Goeury was working in company with M. Balastre, father and son. Goeury was dragged into the street, robbed there and brutally ill-treated, while his two companions, who were found trying to hide themselves in a lavatory, were killed by rifle shots.

"On the same day soldiers came to summon M. Steiner, who had hidden in his cellar. His wife, fearing some misfortune, tried to keep him back. As she held him in her arms she received a bullet in the neck. A few moments after, Steiner, having obeyed the order which had been given to him, fell mortally wounded in his garden. M. Kahn was also murdered in his garden. His mother, aged ninety-eight, whose body was burnt in the conflagration, had first been killed in her bed by a bayonet thrust, according to the account of an individual who acted as interpreter to the enemy. M. Binder, who was coming out to escape the flames, was also struck down. The German by whom he was killed realised that he had shot him without any motive, at the moment when the unfortunate man was standing quietly before a door. M. Vernier suffered the same fate as Binder.

"Towards three o'clock the Germans broke into a house in which were Mme. Dujon, her daughter, aged three, her two sons, and M. Gaumier, by breaking the windows and firing shots. The little

girl was nearly killed, her face was burnt by a shot. At this moment Mme. Dujon, seeing her youngest son, Lucien, fourteen years old, stretched on the ground, asked him to get up and escape with her. She then saw that his intestines were protruding from a wound, and that he was holding them in. The house was on fire; the poor boy was burnt, as well as M. Gaumier, who had not been able to escape.

"M. Wingerstmann and his grandson, aged twelve, who had gone out to pull potatoes a little way from Lunéville, at the place called 'Les Mossus,' in the district of Chanteheux, were unfortunate enough to meet Germans. The latter placed them both against a wall and shot them.

"Finally, towards five in the evening, soldiers entered the house of the woman Sibille, in the same place, and without any reason seized upon her son, led him 200 metres from the house and murdered him there, together with M. Vallon, to whose body they had fastened him. A witness, who had seen the murderers at the moment when they were dragging their victim along, saw them return without him and noticed that their saw-edged bayonets were covered with blood and bits of flesh.

"On the same day a hospital attendant named Monteils, who was looking after a wounded enemy

officer at the Hospital of Lunéville, was struck down by a bullet in the forehead while he was looking through a window at a German soldier who was firing.

"The next day, the 26th, M. Hamman and his son, aged twenty-one, were arrested in their own house and dragged out by a band of soldiers who had entered by breaking down the door. The father was beaten unmercifully; as for the young man, as he tried to struggle, a non-commissioned officer blew out his brains with a revolver shot.

"At one in the afternoon M. Riklin, a chemist, having been informed that a man had fallen about 30 metres from his shop, went to the spot indicated and recognised in the victim his brother-in-law, M. Colin, aged sixty-eight, who had been struck in the stomach by a bullet. The Germans alleged that this old man had fired upon them. M. Riklin denied this statement. Colin, we are told, was a harmless person, absolutely incapable of an aggressive act and completely ignorant of the means of using a firearm.

"It appeared to us desirable to deal also at Lunéville with acts which are less grave, but which throw a peculiar light on the habits of thought of the invader. On Aug. 25th M. Lenoir, sixty-seven years of age, and with him his wife, were

led into the fields with their hands tied behind their backs. After both had been cruelly ill-treated, a non-commissioned officer took possession of eighteen hundred francs in gold which M. Lenoir carried on him. As we have already stated, the most impudent thieving seems to have formed part of the customs of the German Army, who practised it publicly. The following is an interesting example :—

"During the burning of a house belonging to Mme. Leclerc, the safes of two inhabitants resisted the flames. One, belonging to M. George, Sub-Inspector of Waters and Forests, had fallen into the ruins; the other safe, belonging to M. Goudchau, general dealer, remained fixed to a wall at the height of the second storey. The non-commissioned officer Weiss, who was well acquainted with the town, where he had often been welcomed when he used to come before the war to carry on his business as a hop merchant, went with the soldiers to the place, ordered that the piece of wall which remained standing should be blown up with dynamite, and saw that the two safes were taken to the station, where they were placed on a truck destined for Germany. This Weiss was particularly trusted and esteemed by the persons in command. It was he who, installed at Headquarters, was given the duty of administering the

commune in some sense and was in charge of the requisitioning.

"After having committed numerous acts of pillage at Lunéville, after having burnt about 70 houses with torches, petrol, and various incendiary machines, and after having massacred peaceful inhabitants, the German military authorities thought it well to put up the following proclamation, in which they formulated ridiculous accusations to justify the extortion of enormous contributions in the form of an indemnity :—

"'NOTICE TO THE POPULATION.

"'On Aug. 25th, 1914, the inhabitants of Lunéville made an attack by ambuscade against the German columns and transport. On the same day the inhabitants fired on hospital buildings marked with the Red Cross. Further, shots were fired on the German wounded and the military hospital containing a German ambulance. On account of these acts of hostility a contribution of 650,000 francs is imposed on the Commune of Lunéville. The mayor is ordered to pay this sum—50,000 francs in silver and the remainder in gold—on Sept. 6th, at 9 o'clock in the morning, to the representa-

tive of the German Military Authority. No protest will be considered. No extension of time will be granted. If the commune does not punctually obey the order to pay the 650,000 francs, all the goods which are available will be seized. In case payment is not made, domiciliary visits will take place and all the inhabitants will be searched. Anyone found to have deliberately hidden money or to have attempted to withhold his goods from seizure by the military authorities, and anyone attempting to leave the town, will be shot. The mayor and the hostages taken by the military authorities will be made responsible for the exact execution of the above order. The mayor is ordered to publish these directions to the commune at once.

'Hénaménil. Sept. 3rd, 1914.

'Commander-in-Chief,

'Von Fasbender.'

"On reading this extraordinary document one is justified in asking whether the arson and murders committed at Lunéville on Aug. 25th and 26th by an army which was not acting under the excitement of battle, and which during the preceding days of its occupation had abstained from

killing, were not ordered on purpose to make more plausible the allegation which was to serve as a pretext for the exaction of an indemnity."

(iv) *Across the Meurthe.*

While Lunéville was being sacked by the Bavarian troops who occupied it, other Bavarian columns were pressing southward over the Meurthe. At *Hériménil*[2] they shot six civilians—including women of eighteen and twenty-three and a man of seventy-seven—and deliberately burned 22 houses, after pillage. To facilitate the pillage the inhabitants were confined in the church. "I did not want the church door opened," a Bavarian captain shouted when a woman ventured out to find milk for the children; "I wanted the French to shoot their own people." And, in fact, a French shell fell on the church and killed 24 of those inside. At *Rehainviller*[3] the Germans carried off the curé and shot him, and deliberately set the village on fire. They burned three houses at *Mont.*[4] At *Lamath*[5] they carried off the mayor and two others as hostages to Germany, and shot a man seventy years old. At *Fraimbois*[6] they

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[2] One 335–341.
[3] One 323–8.
[4] One 334.
[5] One 329–330.
[6] One 331–3.

[Map 5]

shot a municipal councillor and an invalid from Gerbéviller. "I saw German soldiers," states a witness from Fraimbois, "firing at fowls in the gardens. At that moment a patrol came by and arrested me on the pretext that it was I who had fired. I was brought before a council of war, but chanced to be acquitted." Advancing from Fraimbois and Lamath, the Bavarians fought their way into *Gerbéviller*[7] on Aug. 24th.

"At Gerbéviller," the French Commission report,[8] "the enemy's troops hurled themselves against some sixty chasseurs-à-pied, who offered heroic resistance and inflicted heavy losses upon them. They took a drastic revenge upon the civilian population. Indeed, from the moment of their entrance into the town the Germans gave themselves up to the worst excesses, entering the houses with savage yells, burning the buildings, killing or arresting the inhabitants, and sparing neither women nor old men. Out of 475 houses, 20 at most are still habitable. More than 100 persons have disappeared, 50 at least have been massacred. Some were led into the fields to be shot, others were murdered in their houses or struck down as they passed through the streets, while they were trying to escape from the con-

[7] One 254–278.
[8] One pp. 27–9.

[Map 5]

flagration. Up to now 36 bodies have been identified" (names follow). . . .

"Fifteen of these poor people were executed at a place called 'la Prèle.' They were buried by their fellow-citizens on Sept. 12th or 15th. Almost all had their hands tied behind their backs; some were blindfolded; the trousers of the majority were unbuttoned and pushed down to their feet. This fact as well as the appearance of the bodies made the witnesses think that the victims had been mutilated. We did not think we ought to adopt this view, the bodies being in such an advanced state of decomposition that a mistake on the subject might be made. Besides, it is possible that the murderers unbuttoned the trousers of the prisoners so as to encumber their legs, and thus make it impossible for them to escape.

"On Oct. 16th, at a place called le Haut-de-Vormont, buried under fifteen to twenty centimetres of earth, we found the bodies of ten civilians with the marks of bullets upon them. On one of them was found a *laissez-passer* in the name of Edouard Seyer, of Badonviller. The other nine victims are unknown. It is believed that they were inhabitants of Badonviller, who had been taken by the Germans into the neighbourhood of Gerbéviller to be shot there.

[Map 5]

"In the streets and houses during the day the town was sacked the most tragic scenes took place.

"In the morning the enemy entered the house of M. and Mme. Lingenheld, seized the son, thirty-six years of age, who was wearing the brassard of the Red Cross, tied his hands behind his back, dragged him into the street, and shot him. They then returned to look for the father, an old man of seventy. Mme. Lingenheld then took to flight. On her way she saw her son stretched on the ground, and as the unhappy man was still moving some Germans drenched him with petrol, to which they set fire in the presence of the terrified mother. In the meantime M. Lingenheld was led to la Prèle, where he was executed.

"At the same time the soldiers knocked at the door of the house occupied by M. Dehan, his wife, and his mother-in-law, the widow Guillaume, aged seventy-eight. The latter, who opened the door, was shot point-blank, and fell into the arms of her son-in-law, who ran up behind her. 'They have killed me!' she cried. 'Carry me into the garden.' Her children obeyed, and laid her at the end of the garden with a pillow under her head and a blanket over her legs, and then stretched themselves at the foot of the wall to avoid shells. At the end of an hour the widow Guillaume was dead. Her daughter wrapped her

in a blanket and placed a handkerchief over her face. Almost immediately the Germans broke into the garden. They carried off Dehan and shot him at la Prèle, and led his wife away on to the Fraimbois road, where she found about 40 people, principally women and children, in the enemy's hands, and heard an officer of high rank say : ' We must shoot these women and children. We must make an end of them.' However, the threat was not carried into effect. Mme. Dehan was set at liberty next day, and was able to return twenty-one days later to Gerbéviller. She is convinced, and all those who saw the body share her opinion, that her mother's body had been violated. In fact, the body was found stretched on its back with the petticoats pushed up, the legs separated, and the stomach ripped open.

" When the Germans arrived, M. Perrin and his two daughters, Louise and Eugénie, had taken refuge in a stable. The soldiers entered, and one of them, seeing young Louise, fired a shot point-blank at her head. Eugénie succeeded in escaping, but her father was arrested as he fled, placed among the victims who were being taken to la Préle, and shot with them.

" M. Yong, who was going out to exercise his horse, was struck down before his own house. The Germans in their fury killed the horse after

41.—ST. BARBE.

42.—ST. BARBE : HOUSE WHERE MLLE. HAITE WAS BURNT ALIVE.

43.—BACCARAT.

44.—BADONVILLER : FAUBOURG D'ALSACE.

the master, and set fire to the house. Some others raised the trap-door of a cellar in which several people were hidden and fired several shots at them. Mme. Denis Bernard and the boy Parmentier, seven years of age, were wounded.

"At five in the evening Mme. Rozier heard an imploring voice crying, 'Mercy! Mercy!' These cries came from one of the two neighbouring barns belonging to MM. Poinsard and Barbier. A man who was acting as interpreter to the Germans declared to a certain Mme. Thiébaut that the Germans boasted that they had burnt alive in one of these barns, in spite of his entreaties and appeals to their pity, a man who was the father of five children. This declaration carries all the more conviction, since the remains of a burnt human body have been found in the barn belonging to Poinsard.

"Side by side with this carnage, innumerable acts of violence were committed. The wife of a soldier, Mme. X., was raped by a German soldier in the passage of her parents' house, whilst her mother was obliged to flee at the bayonet's point.

"On Aug. 29th Sister Julie, Mother Superior of the Hospital, whose devotion has been admirable, went to the parish church with a mobilised priest to examine the state of the interior of the building, and found that an attempt had been

[Map 5]

made to break through the steel door of the tabernacle. The Germans had fired shots round the lock in order to get possession of the ciborium. The door was broken through in several places, and the bullets had produced almost symmetrical holes, which proved that the shots had been fired point-blank. When Sister Julie opened the tabernacle she found the ciborium pierced with bullet holes."

Beyond Gerbéviller, at *Moyen*,[9] they carried away captive to Germany the curé and the mayor. At *Magnières*,[10] too, the mayor was carried away, a number of houses were burnt, and a Bavarian soldier violated a girl of twelve. At *Xaffévillers*,[11] in the *Department of the Vosges*, civilians were used as a screen. The place was pillaged, and a woman of seventy-five was violated. *Doncières* [12] was pillaged, and here a man of seventy-four was shot and 27 houses burnt. At *Nossoncourt* [13] 20 houses were burnt and 16 inhabitants carried away to Germany, of whom 3 died in exile. At *Ménil-sur-Belvitte* [14] 52 houses were burnt, an old man of sixty-one was used as a screen, and 3

[9] One 361–2.
[10] One 343–5.
[11] Five 228–9.
[12] Five 216–8.
[13] Five 208–9.
[14] Five 219–227.

[Map 5]

others were shot. At *St.-Barbe*[15] 104 houses were burnt, after being pillaged, out of about 150, and in one of them a woman of eighty-three was burnt alive. The schoolmaster protested to the Bavarian commandant that civilians had not been firing, but the commandant would not listen, and the burning went on—"a horrible sight," as a private of the 170th Regiment wrote in his diary on Aug. 26th.

(v) *In the Vosges.*

These places lay between the Meurthe and the Mortagne, but other columns ravaged the district between the Meurthe and the Vezouse, and pressed up the Meurthe into the Vosges to join hands, if they could, with German forces operating from Alsace.

At *Baccarat*,[16] in the *Department of the Meurthe and Moselle*, the Bavarians conducted systematic pillage under the direction of their officers, and burned over 100 houses—112 were destroyed altogether, and only 4 or 5 of them by shells. "These pigs of Bavarians again," said the Badeners who followed the Bavarians into the town. "We are not the same race." Yet it was a Badener General of Artillery who remarked to

[15] Five 210–5; Bland pp. 136–7, 335.
[16] One 301–3.

[Map 5]

an inhabitant: "I never thought you had so much fine wine at Baccarat; we have taken more than 100,000 bottles."

At *Domèvre*[17] 136 houses were burnt, a boy of seventeen was shot at and died of his wounds, and two other inhabitants were shot, one of them being seventy-five years old. At *Blamont*,[18] when the Germans marched in on Aug. 8th, they shot a girl working in the fields. On Aug. 12th they shot an ex-mayor eighty-two years old. On Aug. 13th they dragged off the mayor and a café proprietor to execution, on the ground that there had been firing by civilians; they kept their victims waiting in agony for a quarter of an hour; then the café proprietor was shot and the mayor set free.

"*Parux*," writes a Bavarian diarist[19] on Aug. 10th, "was the first village burnt; then we let go, and one village after another went up in flames. We cycled across country till we came to some road-ditches, where we ate cherries."

"During the night of Aug. 18th–19th," another diarist writes,[20] "the village of *St.-Maurice* was burnt to the ground by the 12th and 17th Landwehr as a punishment for having fired on German

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[17] One 366.
[18] Five 185–9.
[19] Bland p. 195 = Bédier p. 22.
[20] Bland pp. 183–5.

[Map 5]

troops. The village was surrounded—one man to every yard—so that no one could get out. Then the Uhlans set fire to it, house by house. Neither man, woman, nor child was to escape, only most of the live stock was carried off, as that could be used. Anyone who ventured out was shot down. All the inhabitants left in the village were burnt with their houses."

The conduct of the Bavarians at *Badonviller*[21] is summarised by the French Commission in their Fifth Report:—

"On Aug. 12th, 1914, the 2nd, 5th, 12th, and 16th Infantry Regiments entered Badonviller, after hard fighting in the outskirts. Their first act was to kill an inoffensive landowner, M. Marchal, aged sixty-six, who was sitting quietly in front of his door.

"Soon afterwards an action which began outside the town was carried into the streets, where a handful of French riflemen were making a stand; and the latter, being forced to retreat, fired, while still within range, on columns which were coming up to reinforce the enemy. Infuriated by this firing, the Germans alleged, as usual, that civilians had taken part in it, and the order was given to ravage Badonviller with fire

[21] Five 148–161; Morgan p. 99.

and sword. Captain Baumann, of the 16th Regiment, showed himself particularly dangerous. In order to quiet him, M. Benoit, the mayor, parleyed with him as best he could, assuring him that none of his fellow-townsmen had opened fire. The officer then ordered him to follow him through the streets and have all doors and windows thrown open. To make sure that, in so far as his own house was concerned, the order should be carried out, the mayor sent home his wife, who was with her parents. Then he went to interview the enemy general, to plead the cause of his townspeople, and to ask that a stop should be put to the acts of violence and arson that were already beginning. The general's only reply was to allow a respite of twenty minutes, before the expiration of which all the French soldiers who had taken refuge in Badonviller were to be handed over, and all the men to assemble in front of the town-hall. M. Benoit hastened to take the necessary steps for collecting his fellow-citizens. While thus employed he was passing his house, when an officer pointed at it, saying that there had been firing from it. After uttering strong protests, the mayor entered his house with four soldiers to make an inspection. A tragic sight awaited him there. On reaching a room on the first floor, the window of which was open, he found his wife stretched

lifeless, with a wound in her breast. The unhappy husband, beside himself with grief, was on the point of flinging himself on her dead body, but the Germans dragged him off and compelled him to go with them and search his neighbours' houses, while the body of Mme. Benoit was burning in his house, which had just been set on fire.

"In the same district the Bavarians also burned a workmen's quarter and other buildings, besides killing a boy of sixteen, Georges Odinot, in his parents' house. The boy was coming up from the cellar with a bottle of wine and a small loaf of bread for the family meal when, on entering the kitchen, he found himself confronted by two soldiers, who aimed their rifles at him. 'Spare me, gentlemen,' he cried, but one of the two men shot him in the throat. The Germans then dragged the body out by the legs and flung it into a blazing shed.

"Meanwhile, other murders were being committed at the other end of the town, which had also been set on fire. M. and Mme. George, their daughter, their son-in-law, M. Gruber, and two young children of the latter's, were caught by the flames in the cellar where they had hidden themselves, and were fired at as they fled. M. and Mme. George were killed in front of their

house; M. Gruber, while holding one of his children in his arms, was badly wounded, and dragged himself into a meadow close by, where he died five hours later. His wife witnessed his agony from a house that commanded the meadow, but she was not allowed to go and give him any help at all. Finally, M. Spatz, an old man of eighty-one, M. Emile Boulay, and his fifteen-year-old son were murdered in their homes.

"During this terrible day a certain number of people were driven brutally from their houses, and then collected in the high-street and subjected to the grossest maltreatment. A man of seventy-five, M. Batoz, though helpless and ill, was plucked from his bed and dragged naked into the road. He died a fortnight later. About a dozen young people had to lie flat on the ground with their arms crossed, and soldiers passing near them amused themselves by kicking them, striking them with the butt-end of their rifles and treading on their hands. During a scene of this kind young Massel, aged eighteen, who had been wounded by a bullet, fell into the river and was drowned. His mother and sister, who witnessed the accident, were not allowed to go to his help.

"While this massacre was in progress the enemy gave themselves up to an orgy of incendiarism and pillage. Eighty-five houses were destroyed

and the church was bombarded by a battery placed on a height commanding the town. This bombardment, which served no military end—for fighting had ceased—was carried out in the presence of some hostages from Fenneviller, who—to quote several witnesses—were obliged to take off their hats and shout 'Hurrah!' with the gunners at every discharge. It is only fair, however, to mention that, upon representations from M. Berson, a professor at the Condorcet School, who was spending his holidays at Badonviller and had been arrested there, Captain Baumann consented, while the cannonade was going on, to send soldiers to form a chain and extinguish in its early stages a conflagration which had broken out in a block of houses close to the church."

"During the fight at 'Batonville,'" wrote a Bavarian soldier[22] in a letter to a girl at home, "I bayoneted 7 women and 4 young girls in five minutes. We fought from house to house, and these women fired on us with revolvers; they also fired on the captain too, and then he told me to shoot them all, but I bayoneted them and did not shoot them—this set of sows, they are worse than men."

The French Commission give the following

[22] Morgan p. 99.

summary of Bavarian outrages at *Raon-l'Étape*[23]:—

"The Germans entered Raon-l'Étape on Aug. 24th. As soon as they arrived they first of all burned four houses in the Rue Carnot, under the usual pretext that they had been fired upon. Next day they placed machine-guns on the steps of the hospital and dug trenches in the garden. When the Sisters protested against this violation of hospital premises, they admitted that they had selected the position deliberately to shelter themselves from the French artillery. Until the 28th they went on burning down the town, using torches, grenades, and an inflammable liquid which they squirted with hand-pumps. Besides this, they ordered the inhabitants to bring them all the petrol they possessed. The Corn Exchange, the girls' school, several other public buildings, and one hundred and two private houses were destroyed. Some soldiers, when asked by Dr. Wendling why they were burning everything, replied: 'Your town is badly lighted; we must brighten up the night a bit.'

"In addition, we have to deplore the deaths of several absolutely unoffending people. An old man of seventy-five, M. Richard, was killed by a bullet while watching some of the enemy's troops

[23] Five 190–206, summarised on pp. 30–2.

[Map 5]

go by from an upper window of his house. M. Huck was murdered on the night of the 24th or 25th, while leaving his cellar. Four days later his body, with a wound in the head, was recovered from the river, into which the murderers had thrown it. A certain M. Poirel was wounded mortally under circumstances which are not quite clear. M. Périsse was forced to walk in front of the soldiers and struck down in the Rue Chanzy. In the same street the widow Grandemange received a wound in her leg, from which she died some days afterwards.

"During the whole of the occupation there were many acts of pillage, and some officers and several German women took part in them. Every third day motor-cars laden with booty went off in the direction of Cirey and returned empty. The pillagers spread a Red Cross flag over a waggon filled with casks of wine stolen from M. Marceloff's establishment.

"In the first week Mlle. X., a domestic servant, thirty-four years of age, was surprised by four soldiers in her master's house. Three of them held her down while the fourth outraged her. Mme Y. was the victim of a similar outrage. A German violated her in a neighbour's house, after driving out the other people there, revolver in hand.

[Map 5]

"After all this had happened, the town was occupied by the 15th Army Corps, and particularly by the 99th Infantry Regiment. General von Deimling had his quarters in the premises belonging to the Sadoul family. For a long time afterwards his name could be seen chalked on the door.

"The Raon-l'Étape hospital has been occupied by three successive German field hospitals, the staff of which turned out a great number of our wounded and gave no attention to the rest. Their doctors behaved scandalously in the place, getting drunk every night and rifling the quarters of wounded or dead French officers. About a dozen mattresses, many blankets, and more than a hundred sheets were stolen. The doctor in command of the last field hospital distinguished himself by his extraordinary brutality and coarseness. One day he insulted shamefully the nun who was at work in the kitchen, and threw several knives at her head, complaining that she did not treat him with all the respect due to his rank. Towards the end of his stay he introduced from Germany a female whom he represented to be his lawful wife. This German woman was of very loose manners, and smoked and drank with the military surgeons. She was seen, in the company of officers, pillaging the house of a notary and loading on to a motor-car the articles she had stolen from it.

[Map 5]

"On Aug. 25th, when the enemy entered the hospital, an unarmed French infantry sergeant tried to escape. Owing to his wound—the dressing on which was very evident—they could easily have captured him; yet the Germans made not the slightest attempt to take him alive, but fired at him and killed him. The same day a hospital orderly wearing an armlet and an overall was fired at and had his clothes pierced by a bullet while going into the garden to pick up a waterproof cloth which had fallen out of the window."

At *Neuveville-les-Raon*[24] the pillage was especially systematic; officers' wives chose what they wanted and removed it in motor-cars to Germany; then 45 houses were burnt with the usual incendiary apparatus. The houses left standing were found in an indescribable state of filth, for the Bavarians had been continuously drunk during the nineteen days they occupied the village. On the day of their arrival they made a French civilian carry a wounded French soldier on his back, and then shot both from behind.

At *la Voivre*,[25] a few miles higher up the Meurthe, they shot the curé for possessing a large-scale map. They also shot another inhabitant, aged seventy-four, and burned down 6 houses. At

[24] Five 207.
[25] Five 230–1.

[Map 5]

St. Michel-sur-Meurthe[26] they burned three, and murdered two old men—respectively seventy-one and seventy-five years old—in the hamlet of *Saulceray* of the same commune. In the hamlet of *Bourmont*,[27] of the commune of *Nompatelize*, they seized three men, dragged them to the railway station at St. Michel, lined them up for half an hour against a stack of timber, then shot one and compelled the other two to dig his grave. The murdered man's wife died the day after of the shock.

Pressing up the Meurthe, the Bavarians arrived on Aug. 27th at *St.-Dié*.[28]

"When they entered the town," the French Commission state in their report, "an officer stopped the accountant Visser as he was leaving a cellar in the Blech factory, clapped his revolver to his chin, saying: 'Now, then, show us the way,' and had him led off by his men. Quite close to the factory M. Visser met, surrounded by Prussians, M. Chotel, who had just been arrested in the road; and a few moments later the soldiers, who were forcing their way into all the houses, seized a young deaf-mute

[26] Five 232–5.
[27] Five 236–9.
[28] Five 249–273; Bland pp. 321–3 (an account of the civilian screen by one of the German officers responsible for it); *German Proclamations*: "Scraps of Paper" pp. 16–7, 18–9.

[Map 5]

named Louzy and a workman named (Léon) Georges. Suddenly a German who was crossing the Rue de Breuil got a bullet in his face, and the officer, beside himself with rage, shouted: 'There they are, your dirty Frenchmen! They are killing our men at the street-corners.' He then gave an order to his men, and said abruptly to his prisoners: 'Now then, to the front! Forward!' The four hostages were now placed in front of the troops, and soon came to a barricade, from behind which a body of Chasseurs Alpins were firing. They therefore found themselves caught between two fires. Chotel sank down on to his knees, turned towards the Germans, crying 'Cowardly murderers!' and fell dead. Soon afterwards Georges also was killed; Louzy was shot through the right wrist; and Visser received in his stomach a bullet which glanced off two five-franc pieces in a waistcoat-pocket and inflicted a dangerous, but not mortal, wound.

"In the hospital where he was treated M. Visser found himself with two lads, both badly wounded. One of them, Charles Perrin, aged fourteen, had been hit twice by the Germans when running to execute a commission. He died on Sept. 20th, 1914. Our inquiries have not resulted in identifying the other for certain; but news has reached us that somebody named Paul Luquer, aged nineteen,

died in one of the hospitals at Saint-Dié on Sept. 16th. He had been hit full in the face by a projectile in one of the streets while trying to give help to a wounded Frenchman.

"About 1.30 p.m. a German soldier caught sight of an individual named Lafoucrière, aged eighteen, at the angle between the Rue de la Prairie and the Rue Dixième-Bataillon; he aimed at him and shot him down, although the young fellow had not said a single word nor made the slightest gesture of provocation. An old man named de Tihay was also killed in the street while surrounded by enemy soldiers; but it is possible that the bullet which struck him was not meant for him, and that he was a victim of the fight that was then raging.

"The next day—the 28th—young Bleicher, aged twenty-one, who had been invalided out of the army, was surprised by three non-commissioned officers at Saint-Roch, in the commune of Saint-Dié, in the house of a friend of his mother's, Mme. Ziegler, on whom he was calling. One of the soldiers shouted as he came in: 'Clear out!' Bleicher took a step forward and tried to explain why he was there. 'I am . . .'—but he never finished the sentence, being immediately shot dead with a revolver. . . .

"During their stay at Saint-Dié the enemy gave

45.—BADONVILLER : CHURCH INTERIOR.

46.—RAON L'ETAPE : RUE JULES FERRY.

47.—RAON L'ETAPE: RUE JULES FERRY.

free rein to their customary activities of pillage and destruction. They were seen to bring a safe to the colonnade at the town hall and break it open there. They ransacked cellars and shops. M. Badier, a wine merchant, from whom they took goods to the value of 35,000 francs, was given some requisition vouchers, signed by officers of the 26th Reserve Division and of the 71st Prussian Landwehr Regiment. On Aug. 29th they set fire to the district round the Rue de la Bolle, and, to make it impossible to bring help, had the bridges which connect the district with the rest of the town closely guarded while the conflagration was proceeding. Forty-five houses and five factories were burnt. The same day two French infantrymen and two Chasseurs Alpins were found in a cellar by the Germans, led to where the Rue de la Bolle and the Rue des Cités meet, and shot. Their bodies lay for four days in the public street."

The invaders penetrated to *Mandray*,[29] between the sources of the Meurthe and the Alsatian frontier, and murdered five civilians in this commune during the course of their occupation. One of them was a man sixty-four years old, another a woman of seventy-five. Most of them were

[29] Five 240–8.

[Map 5]

murdered treacherously after being commandeered as guides.

But Mandray marks the extreme south-eastern limit of the German invasion of Belgium and France, and from this point southwards the French frontier has remained inviolate. For from the first days after the German declaration of war the French Army took the offensive in Upper Alsace, and has stood since then—not on enemy soil, but on soil once French and now French again after the passage of forty-four years.

[Map 5]

VII. FROM MALINES TO THE YSER

(i) *Termonde and Alost.*

The Battle of the Marne stemmed the wave of German invasion on a front extending from the Oise to the Vosges. The country beyond this battle-line was saved from the passage of the invader, districts behind it were recovered as the German armies ebbed towards the Aisne, and then the stationary war of trenches superseded the war of manœuvres. This change took place during the first half of September, 1914, but the invasion had not entirely spent its force. Surging back from the dam which the Allies had set across its original channel, it broke out again towards the north and west, in an attempt to submerge the remnant of Belgium, pass round the flank of the Franco-British rampart, and sweep forward by a fresh channel into France. This second inundation was not so gigantic as the first, yet it brought massacre and devastation to regions that had previously escaped, and was only stopped along the line of the Yser and Ypres in the last days of October, more than six weeks after the Battle of the Marne had been fought and won by the Allies.

[Frontispiece]

This last German advance was made in three stages: the capture of Termonde and Alost, the capture of Antwerp, and the march from the Scheldt to the Yser. The last stage rivalled in speed, and in the extent of territory overrun, the movements of von Kluck and von Bülow in the month that followed the declaration of war, and all three stages brought destruction upon the civilian population.

Termonde and Alost were the principal points on the line of the Dender, which the Belgian Army had held against the Germans since Aug. 19th, 1914. They were a rampart thrust out southward from the fortress of Antwerp, screening its communications with the French and British positions on the Channel coast. It was a precarious screen, but the Germans could not strike at Antwerp freely till they had brushed it away.

The treatment of *Termonde*[30] is described in the Ninth Report of the Belgian Commission:—

"The Communes of Lebbeke and of St. Gilles-lez-Termonde contain, with the town of Termonde itself, a total of over 26,000 inhabitants. These places, together with the village of Appels (with

[30] f 1–11; g 9, 24, 30; ix; vi p. 40 (*German Proclamation*); xv p. 23 (civilian screen).

[Frontispiece]

2,100 in habitants, lying west of Termonde) have endured terrible sufferings.

"On Sept. 2nd a German patrol came as far as Lebbeke. Under the pretext that they were avenging six German soldiers, shot by the Belgian troops in the district of Lebbeke, they set fire to three farms in the hamlet of Hijzide.

"On Sept. 4th, at four in the morning, the people of Lebbeke were roused by the sound of lively firing. The German Army was attacking the place, which was defended by some Belgian outposts, who soon drew back to the Scheldt. At seven the Germans entered the village, breaking windows, smashing in doors, and hunting away women and children. The men were dragged from their homes, to serve as a living shield for the advancing troops.

"Soon after the village was bombarded. The church was taken as a special target, and was hit by several shells which caused grave damage. About ten houses were seriously injured. Then pillage and arson commenced. Twenty farms or dwelling houses were set on fire, and all the houses in the centre of the place were plundered. Only the appeals which the burgomaster addressed to General Grönen saved the village from complete destruction. A great part of the Commune of St. Gilles-lez-Termonde was also devastated.

[Frontispiece]

"At 9.15 a.m. the German Army began to shell Termonde, and soon afterwards it entered the town by the Rue de l'Eglise, the Rue de Malines, and the Rue de Bruxelles. German troops advanced to the Civil Hospital, and there arrested as hostages Dr. Van Winckel, President of the Red Cross Association, who was attending to the wounded, and also the Rev. M. Van Poucke, the Chaplain, and M. César Schellekens, the Secretary of the United Civil Hospitals. They were taken to the centre of the town, accompanied by various townsmen, who were arrested on the way thither.

"Meanwhile the soldiery were pillaging cellars and the shops of confectioners, bakers, grocers, and wine and spirit merchants. The window-frames gave way under the accumulated mass of bottles.

"One company, under a captain, burst into the offices of the 'Dender Central Bank,' a private company, and searched them from end to end. Soon after, a special squad entered the bank and blew open the safe in the manager's room, from which 2,400 francs were taken. They then forced the wrought-iron door of the bank cellar, which contained the boxes deposited by private customers. But there was a second door to the cellar which resisted their burglarious efforts. It

[Frontispiece]

was only the great solidity of this structure which preserved the private safes below.

"Meanwhile General Von Boehn was posing for his photograph on the stairs of the Town Hall!

"At about 3 p.m. some pioneers (of the 9th Battalion) set fire to the building-yards of Termonde, and to four groups of five dwelling houses in the centre of the town. After this the German officers began to direct those inhabitants who still remained in the place to take their departure, as the town was to be completely destroyed. About 5 p.m. the German commander ordered all the criminals in the gaol, to the number of over 135, to be set at liberty. They spread over the neighbourhood.

"Next day (Sept. 5th) began the complete destruction of the town by fire, under the direction of a Major von Sommerfeld. The hospital was not spared; it was drenched with petroleum and set alight. The sick, wounded, and old people were carried out, but one epileptic man perished in the blaze. The chapel of the Alms-house (*Béguinage*), a building of the late XVIth century, was set on fire the same day.

"Meanwhile the German soldiery were engaged all day in completing the work of pillage begun on the previous evening. The jeweller's shop

belonging to M. Van den Durnel-Goedetier and many private mansions were thoroughly sacked.

"On Sunday, Sept. 6th, the commandant, Major von Sommerfeld, ordered that the destruction should proceed. As at Louvain and Andenne, all the better quarters of the town, where the soldiers would find the most plunder, were set on fire.

"It was only on Sept. 7th that the conflagration ceased, the pioneers—so a German said—having to go off to destroy railways. Most of the surviving houses were found to bear the inscription 'Nicht anzünden' (Not to be burnt). This day a German sentry was killed, in front of Vertongen's factory, by a Belgian soldier firing from the dyke on the further side of the Scheldt. Major von Förstner observed to a notable of Termonde: 'There are still the factories round the town; if your soldiers hit another of our men, they shall be destroyed, as the town has been.'

"On Sept. 4th the Germans had also shelled for more than an hour the little village of Appels, though no Belgian force was posted there. A child was killed by a fragment of shrapnel. Some minutes after the bombardment stopped the Germans entered the place, and set fire to the house of Casimir Laureys, who had been wounded by a splinter from a shell; the wretched man was

[Frontispiece]

left to perish in the flames. They burned eight more houses, and sacked most of the others. They shut up the parish priest and most of the inhabitants in the church for about an hour and a half, and only allowed them to depart after compelling them to shake hands with their guards. They burned the house of the rural policeman, because they found his military cap there. They also destroyed the house of Adolphe Veldermann, where they had found an old regimental tunic belonging to his son, then a soldier in the Belgian Army. Four neighbouring houses were burnt, and all the rest of the village was plundered.

"Many inhabitants of Lebbeke, St. Gilles, and Termonde were arrested by the German troops and sent off to Germany. The parish priest of Lebbeke, his curate, the communal secretary, the notary, and about 450 other people from the above-named places, were interned, partly at the camp at Soltau, partly at the camp at Münster. During the whole of their journey, and for the first part of their imprisonment, they were treated in a most odious fashion. While on the march three of them, exhausted by hunger, tried to turn off from the road; they were at once put to death —two were bayoneted, the third was thrown down on the ground and clubbed.

"Twenty-five people of Lebbeke and St. Gilles

[Frontispiece]

were murdered by the Germans on their own lands. Excepting four men (names given), all were killed by blows from bayonets, picks, or hatchets. Most of them were so disfigured that it was only possible to identify their bodies by the objects found on them. Twelve men, all of Lebbeke (names given), had taken refuge in the farm of Octave Verhulst; they were tied together and led to the back of the farm, where they were murdered. Their bodies were all thrown into the same trench. Six men of St. Gilles (names given) were tied arm to arm and conducted to Lebbeke. The Germans put out their eyes and then killed them with their bayonets. Three others (names given) were killed by sabre cuts on the head, in the presence of their wives and children.

"Two inhabitants of Termonde were killed at the time of the entry of the Germans. One inhabitant of Appels, named Theophile Van den Bossche, was brought down by a revolver shot; another named Wauters was wounded by a rifle bullet.

"On Sept. 4th, the day of the attack on Termonde, six German infantrymen fired twice, from a distance of five yards only, on Dr. F. Hemereyk and on his porter, though both were wearing the armlet with the Red Cross. The

[Frontispiece]

49.— ST. MICHEL-SUR-MEURTHE.

50.—ST. DIÉ.

51.—TERMONDE.

52.—TERMONDE: INTERIOR OF CHURCH

porter died five days later—his wound was made by an explosive bullet, which struck him in the upper thigh. The wound was two and a half inches broad where the ball entered, and three inches at its exit. The examination of this wound was made by three surgeons, at the ambulance set up in Vertongen's factory. A third volley was fired at Dr. Hemereyk after his porter had fallen.

"When Termonde was reoccupied by the Belgians new atrocities took place. During the fighting some German soldiers, under an officer, compelled fifteen civilians to march in front of them on the road to St. Gilles; of this party three were ladies and two young girls! At St. Gilles, a man who had received five bayonet thrusts in the abdomen was tied up (as if crucified) to a door—his right hand bound to the door handle, his left to the bell-pull.

"Camille de Rijken, a stoker of Termonde, was bayoneted in the presence of his wife.

"On Sept. 16th, about 5.30 p.m., the Germans began once more to bombard Termonde. The majority of the inhabitants, who had returned to the town after Sept. 10th, retired to the left bank of the Scheldt, as did the small Belgian garrison of 250 men. A dozen shells struck the church of Notre Dame, which had been recently restored.

[Frontispiece]

"At 7.30 p.m. the enemy entered the town. When the Belgian troops continued to fire from the further bank of the Scheldt, some German soldiers compelled Dr. Van Winckel to accompany them to the river; the man who was on his right hand was killed, the man on his left severely wounded.

"That evening the Germans pillaged the cellars of three houses which had escaped the devastations of Sept. 4th, 5th, and 6th. All the night the officers kept up a drinking bout in the square before the Linen Market where they had lighted two large fires.

"Next day (Sept. 17th) the town was shelled again from 4 to 4.45 p.m. One shell struck the tower of the Town Hall, which caught fire. The communal library and the archives fell a prey to the flames, but the pictures were saved with three exceptions.

"After the fall of Antwerp the Germans occupied Termonde in force. They drove out the few inhabitants who remained, and proceeded to plunder all that was left in the town, the factories were robbed of all finished products and of certain raw materials. The Law Courts, the Arsenal, and almost all the few private houses that still stood intact were set on fire.

"It is clear from the statement that is herein

[Frontispiece]

set forth, that the town of Termonde was systematically destroyed, though certain German newspapers deny it. It was destroyed by methodical arson, accompanied by pillage. Even allowing that there was a military necessity for the bombardment, that bombardment only completed the devastating work of the German pioneer-troops."

Alost,[31] like Termonde, changed hands more than once during the month of September, and though the fighting was not so continuous nor so intense, the fate of the civil population was hardly less terrible.

During the engagement on Sept. 11th, a man crossing a street in Alost with a pail of water from the well was bayoneted by 10 German soldiers. Another man was shot in his doorway. Others, again, were driven through the streets as a screen. One of the latter saw the corpses of 14 murdered civilians lying in the road. In hospital, a few days later, a witness saw several more victims who were dying of their wounds—a girl of eleven with 17 bayonet-stabs in her back; a man mangled by bayonet-stabs and blows from rifle-butts; an old woman of eighty with a bayonet-stab through her body; and a man who had been thrown, with his

[31] f 12–27 ; g 25, 28, 33 ; vii p. 55 ; xv p. 22.

son, out of the window of his house. This house had been set on fire, and there were several other cases of incendiarism.

On Sept. 26th the Germans returned to the attack and forced the passage of the river. In this engagement they treated Alost as they had treated the towns on the Meuse and the Sambre. They covered their advance by systematic incendiarism in several quarters, especially along the eastern bank of the river; and when they came under the fire of the Belgian infantry and machine-guns on the further side, they shot or bayoneted at sight any civilians who showed themselves in the part of the town that was already in their hands. One witness[32] saw 9 corpses of civilians; another[33] 7; another 37, including boys of twelve and sixteen, and a girl.[34] One[35] knew personally of 21 civilians who were bayoneted or clubbed to death or shot; another of 17.[36] "The men were shot as they came out of their burning houses," states a witness[37]; "no resistance was made."—"I saw a young man—twenty-three years old, about —jump from the roof of a burning house," states

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[32] f 15.
[33] f 18.
[34] f 20.
[35] f 22.
[36] f 15.
[37] f 17.

[Frontispiece]

a second;[38] "I saw German soldiers strike him with the butts of their guns after he had come to the ground. He was lying just near the foot-path."—"I saw a number of dead bodies outside a café in the road," states a Belgian soldier;[39] "they were about 9 in number; one about seventeen years of age had 11 bayonet wounds in his left breast; an old man had his throat cut, and his head was nearly cut off."—"I crossed the canal by means of barges when the Germans were forced to retreat," states a British journalist with the Belgian troops;[40] "I went to the place where the dead bodies of the civilians were lying and saw them myself. There were about 8 or 9 altogether. Some had been shot from behind, others bayoneted. One man had been bayoneted in the chest. This man was a butcher. . . . He was hatless and bootless, and appeared to have been brought straight from his house. The bayonet wounds had evidently been made with saw-edged bayonets, judging from the character of the wounds which I saw."

After they had taken Alost, the Germans advanced on *Erpe*,[41] driving 25 inhabitants of Alost in front of them as a screen. At Erpe the Belgian

[38] f 18.
[39] f 24.
[40] f 23.
[41] f 26–7 ; vii p. 55.

[Frontispiece]

Army made a stand; a number of the men in the screen were killed; and the Germans set fire to houses in Erpe itself, and shot the male inmates as they ran out into the street.

(ii) *Across the Scheldt.*

Thus by the beginning of October the Germans had made ready for the assault on *Antwerp*, which they delivered during the first two weeks of that month. No exact figures are yet available of the enormous loss of property and destruction of life which accompanied the siege, whether through deliberate murder and incendiarism or as a result of the bombardment. But it is established [42] that, in the *Arrondissement of Antwerp* as a whole, without counting the city, 344 houses were wantonly burnt down, and there is evidence that women and children were murdered and used as screens at a number of places between the lines from which the German advanced and the zone of the Antwerp forts. [43]

Similar outrages were committed in the regions of Belgian and French Flanders across the Scheldt, which the Germans overran in the latter half of October, when the fall of Antwerp had opened the way.

[42] Ann. 2.

[43] Breendonck: k 14. Willebroeck: k 13=g 26. Duffel: k 12. Lierre: g 27. Place unspecified: k 7.

[Frontispiece]

Near *Lokeren*[44] the German troops drove 20 civilians in front of them as a screen—there were women with babies in their arms among the number. They used civilian screens again at *Quatrecht*[45] and *Melle*.[46] At Melle a German broke into a room where a woman of eighty was lying ill in bed, and struck her on the chest with his rifle-butt; others surrounded a woman and stabbed a child in her arms. Near *Harlebeke*[47] they shot a boy and a young man near a lonely farm-house, and burned the house to the ground. They used civilians as a screen at *Nazareth*[48] and *Thielt*[49] and *Roulers*.[50] They massacred 28 civilians at *Staden*.[51] At *Dadizeele*[52] they burned houses and shot civilians as franc-tireurs. At *Zonnebeke*,[53] during the fighting east of Ypres, British soldiers found a corpse lying in the pig-stye of a farm with 8 bayonet wounds in the stomach, and in a room upstairs the corpses of two little girls—about six and eight years old—both shot through the head.

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[44] g 31.
[45] xv p. 23.
[46] k 32–3; xv p. 22; d 4.
[47] k 42.
[48] g 29.
[49] g. 32.
[50] g 35; k 27; Bland pp. 318–9; German White Book, App. 49, Nos. 4 and 5.
[51] R. pp. 136–7; German White Book, App. 49, No. 1.
[52] Bryce p. 179.
[53] k 23.

[Frontispiece]

There were outrages of this kind throughout the Ypres district, for the Germans, when they encountered military resistance, invariably took their revenge on the civilian population. In one place the corpses were found of three boys and a girl, between seven and twelve years old[54]; in another the corpses of a woman and a twelve-months-old baby—both their throats were cut, and the bed on which they were lying was soaked in blood.[55]

The bloodshed was varied by sexual bestiality. At *Wytschaete*,[56] for example, where there is no evidence of massacre, most of the women in the village were raped by Uhlan patrols. At *Locre*[57] a woman was raped when she was on the point of giving birth to a child. At *Bailleul*,[58] on the French side of the Franco-Belgian frontier, there is sworn evidence for the violation of at least 30 women and girls during the eight days of the German occupation.

"At least five officers were guilty of such offences," Professor Morgan states in his summary of the depositions, "and where the officers set the example the men followed. The circumstances were often of a peculiarly revolting character;

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[54] k 25.
[55] k 22.
[56] k 26.
[57] M. pp. 68, 71.
[58] M pp. 57–8, 67, 86–94; Bryce pp. 195–6.

[Frontispiece]

daughters were outraged in the presence of their mothers, and mothers in the presence or the hearing of their little children. In one case, the facts of which are proved by evidence which would satisfy any court of law, a young girl of nineteen was violated by one officer while the other held her mother by the throat and pointed a revolver, after which the two officers exchanged their respective *rôles*. The officers and soldiers usually hunted in couples, either entering the houses under pretence of seeking billets or forcing the doors by open violence. Frequently the victims were beaten and kicked, and invariably threatened with a loaded revolver if they resisted. . . . In several cases little children heard the cries and struggles of their mother in the adjoining room, to which she had been carried by a brutal exercise of force. No attempt was made to keep discipline, and the officers, when appealed to, simply shrugged their shoulders."

Many women were violated at *Nieppe;*[59] one woman there had her daughter violated by 13 Germans, and her husband shot before her eyes. At *Doulieu*[60] the Germans shot 11 civilians after making them dig their own graves. At *Armentières*[61] they violated two women, one of whom they

[59] M. pp. 67, 70.
[60] M. pp. 95–7.
[61] Bryce p. 190; M. p. 73.

[Frontispiece]

mutilated and killed. They violated women at *Laventie* [62] and *Estaires* [63]—at Laventie one of their victims was found dead in her room with a bayonet-stab through her body. In a farm near *Lorgies*, [64] too, a woman was found dead—she had been shot through the stomach—and a girl out of her mind—she had been violated by a number of Germans in succession. But on the line of the Yser and Ypres and La Bassée the invasion of Flanders was brought to a stand. The last few miles of Belgian territory were never overrun, nor the French frontier crossed by German armies between Bailleul and the sea.

[62] Bryce p. 193; M. p. 74.
[63] M. p. 74.
[64] *Ib.*

[Frontispiece]

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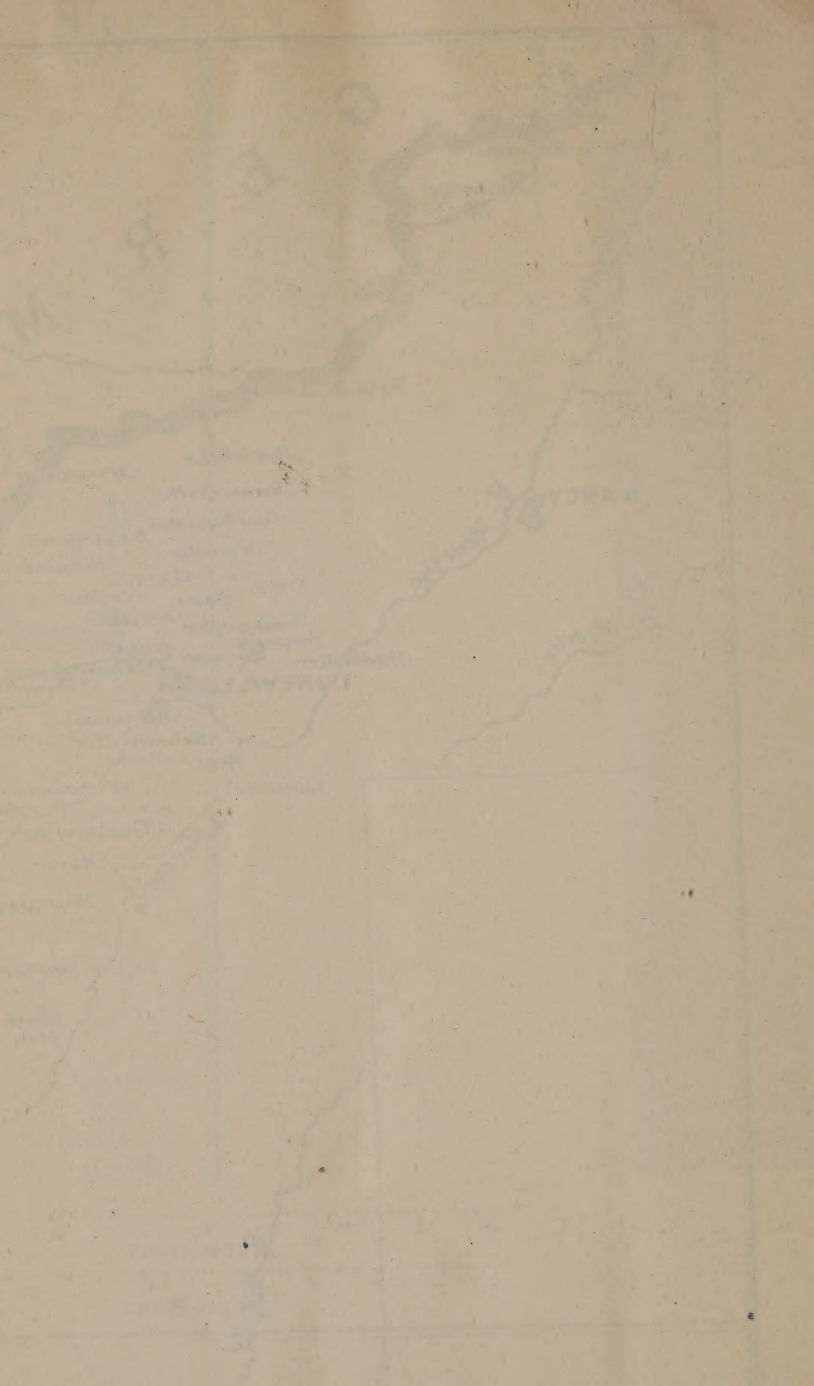
Melin
Biez
Jodoigne
Wavre
Resoux
Mousty
Ottignies
Thorembais
Ramillies
Noville
Nivelles
R. Dyle
Gembloux
R. Meuse
Franc-Waret
Vedrin
Champion
Gelbressée
Seilles
Huy
Bonnine
Andenne
Temploux
Loyers
Halinne
Gosselies
Jumet
Auvelais
Ham
Courcelles
Lodelinsart
Gilly
Tamines
R. Sambre
NAMUR
CHARLEROI
Falisolle
Marcinelle
Châtelet
Marchiennes
Montigny-sur-Sambre
Fosse
Monceau
Couillet
Boufflioux
Montigny-le-Tilleul
Gougnies
St Gerard
Gozée
Acoz
Biesme
Yvoir
Spontin
Braibant
Hansinne
Houx
Hanzinelle
Somzée
R. Meuse
Bouvignes
Leffe
Scrinnes
Dinant
Neffe
Les Rivages
Anthée
Anseremme
Onhaye
Marche
Hastières-Lavaux
Waulsort
Philippeville
Franchimont
Hastières-par-delà
Hermeton
Surice
Villers-en-Fagne
Givet
Mariembourg
Dourbes
Frasnes
Couvin
Bourseigne-Vieille
Fumay
Bievre
Libin
Willerzie
Louette-St-Pierre
Villance
Maissin
Anloy
Rocher-d'Hossus
R. Meuse
R. Semoy
Bertrix
Alle
Neufchâteau
Bastogne
Rosières
Gouvy
Erezée
R. Ourthe
LIÉGE
Key Map.
2
1
3
4
5
GERMANY
GRAND
DUCHY
OF
LUXEMBOURG
FRANCE
English Miles
0 5 10 15 20 25
Kilomètres
0 5 10 20 30 40

Nieppe
Doulieu
Armentières
R. Lys
Estaires
Laventie
LILLE
Lessines
TOURNAI
Braine-le-Compte
Soignies
Nivelles
Lorgies
English Miles
0 5 10 15 20 25
Kilomètres
0 5 10 20 30 40
Orchies
Obourg
Nimy
MONS
Péronnes
Pâturages
Frameries
Anderlues
Monceau-sur-Sambre
Haulchin
Montigny-le-Tilleul
Faurœulx
DOUAI
VALENCIENNES
Peissant
Sars-la-Buissière
Thuillies
ARRAS
R. Escaut
Maubeuge
CAMBRAI
R. Sambre
Landrecies
Beaumont Hamel
Bapaume
La Houssoye
Querrieux
Pont-Noyelles
R. Somme
Péronne
AMIENS
Méricourt
Framerville
R. Oise
Hirson
Guise
St Quentin

St QUENTIN
R. Somme
Liancourt Fosse
Nesle
Roye
Ferrières
Crèvecœur
Noyon
R. Oise
Laon
Chivy
Nourard-le-Franc
Le Mesnil-sur-Bulles
Monchy-Humières
R. Aisne
Choisy-au-Bac
Compiègne
R. Aisne
SOISSONS
Braisne
Courcy
REIMS
R. Vesle
Vivières
Taux
Hartennes
Nogent-sur-Oise
Néry
Creil
Villers St. Frambourg
Trumilly
Villers-Cotterets
Dampleux
Crépy-en-Valois
Senlis
Couvieux
Baron
R. Oise
Chouy
Neuilly St. Front
Coincy l'Abbaye
Jonquéry
Béza St. Germain
Charmel
Jaulgonne
Varennes
Douy-le-Ramée
Méry-en-Multien
Château Thierry
Méry
Crézancy
Connigis
Epernay
R. Marne
Lizy-sur-Ourcq
Congis
Mary-sur-Marne
Vareddes
Penchard
Neufmontiers
Chauconin
Meaux
R. Marne
Petit Morin R.
Montmort
La Caure
Frementières
Etoges
Montmirail
Champaubert
Beaunay
Sablonnières
Rebais
Petit Morin R.
Rieux
Baye
Vert-la-Gravelle
Coizard
Coulommiers
St. Denis-les-Rebais
Gault-le-Forêt
MARSHES OF ST. GOND
St. Prix
Ecury-le-Repos
Jouy
Grand Morin R.
Mondemont
Lenharrée
La Ferté Gaucher
Champguyon
Mauperthuis
Amillis
La Fère Champenoise
Esternay
Sézanne
Beton Bazoches
Courgivaux
Châtillon-sur-Morin
Courtacon
Sancy-les-Provins
Courchamp
PARIS
R. Marne
Grand Morin R.
R. Seine
English Miles
0 5 10 15 20 25
Kilomètres
0 5 10 20 30 40

GRAND DUCHY OF LUXEMBOURG
GERMANY
Bertrix
Neufchâteau
Thibeaurt
Rossignol
Les Bulles
Jamoigne
Tintigny
Etalle
Arlon
R. Semoy
St Léger
Ethe
Bleid
Musson
Latour
Signeulx
Longwy
Longuyon
Audun le Romain
Briey
Jarny
Verdun
Fresnes
Combres
Clermont-en-Argonne
St André
Triaucourt
Nubécourt
Vaubecourt
Givry-en-Argonne
Sommeilles
L'Isle en Barrois
St Mihiel
Loupmont
Louppy
Villers aux-Vents
Laimont
Revigny
Brabant-le-Roi
Nettancourt
Possesse
Heiltz-le-Maurupt
Heiltz-l'Evêque
Changy
Jussecourt
Minecourt
Sermaize
Mognéville
Merlaut
Etrepy
Vitry-en-Perthois
Vitry-le-François
Blacy
Huiron
Sompuis
Maisons
Marson
Châlons
L'Epine
St Etienne-au-Temple
Auve
Somme-Tourbe
Suippes
Somme-Py
Vouziers
Rethel
Novion
Charleville
Mézières
Sedan
R. Meuse
R. Aisne
R. Aire
R. Vesle
R. Ornain
R. Marne
R. Moselle
Toul
English Miles.
0 5 10 15 20 25
Kilomètres
0 5 10 20 30 40

GERMANY
R. Seille
R. Moselle
Pont-à-Mousson
Nomeny
R. Moselle
R. Moselle
Brin Basse
Erbéviller
Arracourt
Rémévéville
NANCY
R. Meurthe
Courbessaux
Bauxemont
Drouville
Hénaménil
Einville
Crévic
Maixe
Crion
Bonviller
Sommerviller
Embermenil
Deuxville
Jolivet
R. Moselle
Hudiviller
Virmont
Chanteheux
Blamont
LUNEVILLE
Croismare
Cirey
R. Vezouse
Hériménil
Domèvre
Rehainviller
Parux
Mont
Lamath
Frambois
St Maurice
Badonviller
Gerbéviller
R. Meurthe
R. Mortagne
Moyen
Gélacourt
Magnières
Baccarat
Raon l'Etape
Xaffévillers
Nossoncourt
St Barbe
Doncières
Ménil
La Voivre
St Michel
St Dié
R. Moselle
Mandray
English Miles
0 5 10 15 20 25
Kilomètres
0 5 10 20 30 40



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